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Democratic and Repub

PARTIES.

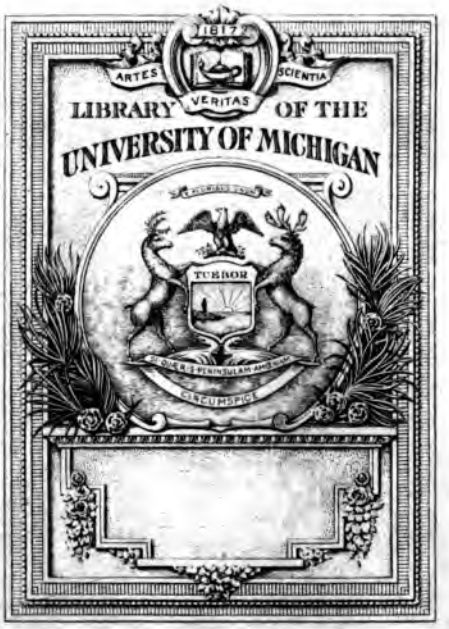
From 1832 and 1856, Respectively.

Compiled and Edited by

HENRY H. SMITH,

Compiler and Author of the "Digest and Manual of the H. of R. U. S."
and "Smith's Parliamentary History of Congress."

CHICAGO:
THE A. N. W. JONES STATIONERY AND PRINTING COMPANY.
1892.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TEN GREAT EVENTS.

CONCISE HISTORY OF ALL REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTIONS.

Giving a Complete Record of All Proceedings from the Calling to Order to the Adjournment and the Candidates Who Were Placed in Nomination—Votes Cast for Each Candidate Whose Name Was Presented for the Nomination—Vote by Which Each Was Nominated, and the Popular and Electoral Votes for all the Candidates for the Presidency Since the Republican Party Came into Existence—The Causes That Led to the Formation of the Republican Party Given.

Compiled and Edited by Henry H. Smith, Compiler and Author of the "Digest and Manual U. S. H. of R." and "The Parliamentary History of Congress."

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It has been very well said that "all political parties that have exerted marked influence upon their times have had their beginnings far back of the period of their organization," and in continuation of this thought the same writer says: "The Republican party was the child of the conscience of the North, aroused at length to assertion by the growth of the institution of slavery. In its embryonic forms it existed almost from the beginning of the government. It did not gain strength and individuality, however, until more than half a century after the adoption of the federal constitution."

No history of the Republican party or its conventions, would be complete without at least a brief reference to the conventions of the "Abolition party of 1839," the "Liberty party of 1843," the "Free-Soil party of 1848"—its legitimate successor—both of which met in Buffalo, N. Y., and the "Free-Soil Democracy" which met at Pittsburgh, Pa.. August 11, 1852.

The "Abolition party" first met in convention at Warsaw, N. Y., November 13, 1839, and subsequently at Albany, April 1, 1840. It adopted a resolution at Warsaw, proposing the organization of a distinct and independent Abolition party, and nominated James G.

Birney of New York for president, and Francis Lemoyne of Pennsylvania, for vice-president. Among its prominent members were Samuel Fessenden of Maine and the Rev. John Pierpont of Massachusetts.

Its candidates received 7,069 votes, cast in all the Northern States (thirteen) except Indiana.

The "Liberty party" met August 30, 1843, at Buffalo, N. Y. It was composed of 148 delegates from twelve States. Leicester King of Ohio was chosen as chairman, and after a spirited debate, a "portentiously long platform" was adopted, and James G. Birney of New York was nominated for president, and Thomas Morris of Ohio for vice-president. The results of this convention and organization were very remarkable—probably without a parallel in the history of parties in this country—and were as unexpected by its most sanguine friends and supporters, as by its enemies. From the annexed table it appears that although the same number of States voted as in the preceding election, yet under the new apportionment, by which the number of representatives was reduced from 242 to 223, the number of electors was reduced to 275. Of this number Mr. Polk received 170 and Mr. Clay 105. Though Mr. Polk received a majority of sixty-five in the votes of electors, he had a majority of the popular vote of but 38,181 over Mr. Clay. Had the Liberal party—or "Abolitionists," as they were called—voted for Mr. Clay, he would have received the electoral votes of the States of Michigan (5) and New York (36), and would have been elected by 146 electoral votes, against 129 for Mr. Polk. The most important incident in the election was the celebrated "Plaquemines Parish fraud," by which Mr. Clay was cheated out of the electoral vote of Louisiana. In the election of 1840, that parish cast 250 Democratic votes, in 1842 but 179, in 1843 but 310, while in 1844 it returned 1,007 Democratic votes—a gain of 697 over the highest previous vote, almost exactly the Democratic majority in the State.

Mr. Polk received 1,337,243, Mr. Clay 1,299,062, and Mr Birney 62,300 popular votes, South Carolina electing by legislature.

The convention of the "Free-Soil party" met at Buffalo, August 9, 1848. It contained representatives from seventeen States with a membership of nearly 500 delegates, and Charles Francis Adams of Massachusetts was made its permanent president. Martin Van Buren of New York was nominated for president, receiving 244 votes to 183 for John P. Hale of New Hampshire, Joshua R. Giddings of Ohio receiving twenty-three, and Charles Francis Adams of Massachusetts thirteen votes. Charles Francis Adams was then nominated for vice-president by acclamation.

The convention adopted strong resolutions in which it "planted itself upon the national platform of freedom, in opposition to the

sectional platform of slavery." It demanded cheap postage, retrenchment of expenses and patronage of the federal government, the election of civil officers in the government service so far as practicable, advocated river and harbor improvements, free grant to actual settlers of the public domain, reduction of the public debts, a revenue tariff, and inscribed on their banner, "Free Soil, Free Speech, Free Labor, and Free Men."

The canvass was short and sharp. The early elections were favorable to the Whigs. Thirty States participated in the election: Florida having been admitted March 3, 1845; Texas, December 29, 1845; Iowa, December 28, 1846, and Wisconsin, May 29, 1848. For the first time all the electors (save in Massachusetts) were appointed, under the act of 1845, on one day.

The popular and electoral votes were as follows: Zachary Taylor, 1,360,099; Lewis Cass, 1,220,544; Martin Van Buren, 291,263; Taylor, 163, and Cass, 128 electoral votes.

The "Free-Soil Democrats" held their convention at Pittsburgh on August 11, 1852. Henry Wilson of Massachusetts was chosen president, and Frederick Douglass of New York, secretary. John P. Hale of New Hampshire was nominated for president, and George W. Julian of Indiana, for vice president, without serious contest.

Samuel Lewis, chairman of the national committee, in calling the convention to order, stated that the call was intended to include all friends of freedom under whatever name they were known. He alluded to the fact that Gerrit Smith, Fred Douglass, and Lewis Tappen of New York; Dr. Lemoyne of Pennsylvania; Joshua R. Giddings and Rufus Spalding of Ohio; Joseph R. Hawley of Connecticut, and other distinguished men were present, with several delegates from slave States.

After a short contest, a platform—substantially that of the Free-Soil party of 1848—was adopted, which somewhat dampened the ardor of the extreme "abolition element." As a result, the canvass lacked zeal and spirit, and, the autumn election being favorable to the Democrats, the result in November was a crushing defeat of the Whig party in both popular and electoral votes.

Thirty-one States voted in this election—California having been admitted September 9, 1850. The apportionment under the census of 1850 (act of May 23, 1850), changed the number of electoral votes in several States. The popular and electoral votes were cast as follows:

Franklin Pierce (Democrat) carried the States of Maine, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina (by legislature), Georgia, Alabama, Florida, Mississippi, Louisiana, Texas, Arkansas, Missouri, Ohio, Michigan, Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin, Iowa and California, receiving 254 electoral

votes. Winfield Scott (Whig) carried the States of Vermont, Massachusetts, Tennessee and Kentucky, receiving 42 electoral votes.

Mr. Pierce received 1,601,274, General Scott 1,396,580, and Mr. Hale 155,825 popular votes.

The dissolution of the Whig party—which, after the campaign of 1852, was in a moribund condition— was seen by its leaders to be inevitable.

In that election it carried but four States—Vermont, Massachusetts, Tennessee and Kentucky (the two latter States by slender majorities)—even with so gallant a soldier as Winfield Scott as its candidate. The "Ostend manifesto" (so called), being a dispatch from James Buchanan, John Y. Mason and Pierre Soule, our ministers to England, France and Spain, respectively, which recommended the immediate purchase of Cuba, and threatened Spain with its forcible seizure in the event of the refusal of Spain to sell it; the Dred Scott decision and the assault on Senator Charles Sumner in the senate chamber by Preston Brooks, a representative from South Carolina, all contributed greatly towards increasing the alarm in the Northern States at the purposes and spirit of the slave power, and the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska bill in 1854 had the effect of an immediate crystallization of all the anti-slavery elements, which included the anti-slavery Whigs, the Free-Soilers and the anti-Nebraska Democrats.

The animating principle and purpose of the men who thus came together in a new organization, was to limit slavery to the territory where it already existed, and to see that the Federal authority should not be used to protect property in slaves in States "whose laws declared that no such property should exist."

Although it has been the subject of dispute, it is now generally conceded that the present Republican party had its birth "under the oaks" at Jackson, Mich., where a State convention was held on July 6, 1854, and that the title was first suggested by Horace Greeley in a letter to a delegate to that convention. The letter was shown to the late Senator Howard, Austin Blair (Michigan's war governor), and others, and, the suggestion meeting with favor, was formally adopted in the resolutions of the convention, and shortly afterwards it was adopted by conventions in the States of Maine, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin and Iowa.

A strenuous effort was made by most of the old leaders—the late Senator Chandler being very active in this respect—to keep the Whig party alive, and in Pennsylvania and the New England States, as well as in the entire South, a Whig ticket was put in the field. "The success of the Republicans in all the States," says Mr. Smalley, "where they ran straight tickets of their own, gave a great impetus to the further extension of the party." Its first national

triumph was won in the Thirty-fourth congress, which convened Dec. 3, 1855, when, after an ineffectual struggle of two months to elect a speaker, it was agreed that a "plurality vote" should elect, and on February 2, 1856, Nathaniel P. Banks, Jr., of Massachusetts, was chosen speaker on the 133d ballot. The "Kansas troubles" (so called) took much of the time of this congress, the House passing the army appropriation with a proviso forbidding the use of the army to enforce the acts of the pro-slavery Kansas legislature. The Senate rejected the proviso and the bill failed. President Pierce called an extra session immediately, and the army bill without the proviso became a law, the House receding therefrom. During this congress, grants of public lands were made in various Southern and Western States to aid in the construction of new railroads, and the tariff act of 1857, which reduced duties on imports to a rate lower than those of any tariff since that of 1816, were the only measures of importance which became laws.

In 1855 the Republicans throughout the North strengthened their organizations and in many States were successful. The Whig party exhibited vitality in but four States, Maine, New Hampshire, Massachusetts and Ohio, while in the South it was completely merged in the Know-Nothing or American organization. The "Kansas troubles" —so called—which occupied most of the time of the Thirty-fourth congress, steadily weakened the Whig, in the proportion that it strengthened the Republican party. The latter was, however, without a national organization, and the leaders in the movement for its formation accordingly called a national convention for the purpose of effecting an organization. It convened at Pittsburgh on February 22, 1856, and perfected arrangements for the convention at Philadelphia in June following.

FIRST NATIONAL CONVENTION.

Held at Philadelphia, Pa., June 17, 1856—Fremont and Dayton.

The first Republican national convention—in the proper sense of the term—was altogether the most spontaneous convention in American political history. The delegates were not selected or chosen by any established rule or plan, and but little regard was paid to the number of votes to which a State should be entitled, New York having 96, Ohio 69, and Pennsylvania 81.

All of the Northern States were represented, as were the States of Delaware, Kentucky and Maryland. The convention was called to order by Edwin D. Morgan, chairman of the Republican national executive committee, who reported the name of Robert Emmett of New York for temporary chairman, and a vice-president and secretary from each State. The organization was perfected by the selec-

tion of Henry S. Lane of Indiana as permanent president, after which the convention was turned into a "political love-feast," and gave itself up to speech-making, the speeches being of the most exuberant and enthusiastic character, a natural proceeding in view of the numerous accessions it was receiving from the Whig and American parties, and the extraordinary success it had recently achieved in the Northern States.

On an informal ballot for president, Col. John C. Fremont of California, received 359 votes; John McLean of Ohio, 196; Charles Sumner of Massachusetts, 2, and William H. Seward of New York, 1 vote. Col. Fremont was then unanimously nominated. An informal ballot was then taken for a candidate for vice-president, on which William L. Dayton of New Jersey, received 259 votes; Abraham Lincoln of Illinois, 110; Nathaniel P. Banks of Massachusetts, 46, and twelve other candidates received scattering support. Mr. Dayton was then unanimously nominated.

The fact that Col. Fremont had declined the nomination of the seceders from the "Know-Nothing" convention, contributed in a large measure to bring about his nomination, while that of Mr. Dayton for vice-president, was expected to complete the disruption of the Whig party. The following platform, reported by David Wilmot of Pennsylvania, was adopted:

This convention of delegates, assembled in pursuance of a call addressed to the people of the United States, without regard to past political differences or divisions, who are opposed to the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, to the policy of the present administration, to the extension of slavery into free territory; in favor of admitting Kansas as a free State, of restoring the action of the federal government to the principles of Washington and Jefferson, and who purpose to unite in presenting candidates for the offices of president and vice-president, do resolve as follows:

Resolved, That the maintenance of the principles promulgated in the Declaration of Independence and embodied in the federal constitution is essential to the preservation of our Republican institutions, and that the federal constitution, the rights of the States, and the union of the States shall be preserved.

Resolved, That with our Republican fathers we hold it to be a self-evident truth that all men are endowed with the inalienable right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, and that the primary object and ulterior designs of our federal government were to secure these rights to all persons within its exclusive jurisdiction; that as our Republican fathers, when they had abolished slavery in all of our national territory, ordained that no person should be deprived of life, liberty, or property without due process of law, it becomes our duty to maintain this provision of the constitution against all attempts to violate, for the purpose of establishing slavery in any Territory of the United States, by positive legislation prohibiting its existence or extension therein. That we deny the authority of congress or of a Territorial legislature, of any individual or association of individuals, to give legal existence to slavery in any Territory of the United States while the present constitution shall be maintained.

Resolved, That the constitution confers upon congress sovereign power over the Territories of the United States for their government, and that in

the exercise of the power it is both the right and the duty of congress to prohibit in the Territories those twin relics of barbarism—polygamy and slavery.

Resolved, That while the constitution of the United States was ordained and established by the people in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defense, and secure the blessings of liberty, and contains ample provision for the protection of the life, liberty and property of every citizen, the dearest constitutional rights of the people of Kansas have been fradulently and violently taken from them; their territory has been invaded by an armed force; spurious and pretended legislative, judicial and executive officers have been set over them, by whose usurped authority, sustained by the military power of the government, tyrannical and unconstitutional laws have been enacted and enforced; the rights of the people to keep and bear arms have been infringed; test oaths of an extraordinary and entangling nature have been imposed as a condition of exercising the right of suffrage and holding office; the right of an accused person to a speedy and public trial by an impartial jury has been denied; the right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers and effects against unreasonable searches and seizures has been violated; they have been deprived of life, liberty and property without due process of law; that the freedom of speech and of the press has been abridged; the right to choose their representatives has been made of no effect; murders, robberies and arsons have been instigated and encouraged and the offenders have been allowed to go unpunished. That all of these things have been done with the knowledge, sanction and procurement of the present administration and that for this high crime against the constitution, the Union and humanity, we arraign the administration, the president, his advisers, agents, supporters, apologists and accessories, either before or after the facts, before the country and before the world, and that it is our fixed purpose to bring the actual perpetrators of these atrocious outrages and their accomplices to a sure and condign punishment hereafter.

Resolved, That Kansas should be immediately admitted as a State of the Union, with her present free constitution, as at once the most effectual way of securing to her citizens the enjoyment of the rights and privileges to which they are entitled, and of ending the civil strife now raging in her territory.

Resolved, That the highwayman's plea, that "might makes right," embodied in the Ostend circular, was in every respect unworthy of American diplomacy, and would bring shame and dishonor upon any government or people that gave it their sanction.

Resolved, That a railroad to the Pacific coast by the most central and practicable route is imperatively demanded by the interests of the whole country, and that the federal government ought to render immediate and efficient aid in its construction, and as an auxiliary thereto, the immediate construction of an emigrant route on the line of the railroad.

Resolved, That appropriations by congress for the improvement of rivers and harbors of a national character, required for the accommodation and security of our existing commerce, are authorized by the constitution and justified by the obligation of government to protect the lives and property of its citizens.

The canvass which followed was a most extraordinary one. In the South it was confined entirely to a contest between Buchanan and Fillmore, while in the North the "hard cider" campaign of 1840 was rivaled. The earlier elections in August and September were favorable to the Republicans, but the result in October, especially in Indiana and Pennsylvania, was unfavorable.

The popular and electoral votes were as follows:

POPULAR AND ELECTORAL VOTE OF 1856.

States.	Popular.			Electoral.		
	Buchanan, Democrat.	Fremont, Republican.	Fillmore, Whig.	Buchanan.	Fremont	Fillmore.
Alabama	46,739		28,551	9		
Arkansas	21,910		10,787	4		
California	53,365	20,691	36,165	4		
Connecticut	34,995	42,715	2,615		6	
Delaware	8,004	308	6,175	3		
Florida	6,358		4,833	4		
Georgia	56,578		42,228	10		
Illinois	105,348	96,189	37,444	11		
Indiana	118,670	94,375	22,386	13		
Iowa	36,170	43,954	9,180		4	
Kentucky	74,662	314	67,416	12		
Louisiana	22,124		20,709	6		
Maine	39,089	67,379	3,325		8	
Maryland	39,115	281	47,460			8
Massachusetts	39,240	108,190	19,626		13	
Michigan	52,136	71,762	1,660		6	
Mississippi	35,446		24,195	7		
Missouri	58,164		48,524	9		
New Hampshire	32,789	38,345	422		5	
New Jersey	46,913	28,338	25,115	7		
New York	195,878	266,007	124,604		35	
North Carolina	48,246		36,886	10		
Ohio	170,874	187,497	28,126		23	
Pennsylvania	230,710	147,510	82,175	27		
Rhode Island	6,680	11,467	1,675		4	
*South Carolina				8		
Tennessee	73,638		66,178	12		
Texas	31,169		15,639	4		
Vermont	10,569	39,561	545		5	
Virginia	89,706	291	60,310	15		
Wisconsin	52,843	66,090	579		5	
Totals	1,838,169	1,841,264	874,534	174	114	8

*By Legislature.

SECOND NATIONAL CONVENTION.

At Chicago, Ill., May 16, 17, 18, 1860 -Lincoln and Hamlin.

The second national convention, which met at Chicago, May 16, 1860, was, if possible, more enthusiastic than its predecessor. The Republicans had carried every Northern State in which an election was held in 1859, with the exception of California; Oregon, where the opposition majority was but 59; New York, where the united vote of the Democrats and third party men was less than 2,000 more than the Republican vote, and Rhode Island, where they were defeated by a fusion of all the opposition elements.

All the free States were represented, delegates also being present from the States of Delaware, Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri, Texas

and Virginia and from the Territories of Kansas, Nebraska and the District of Columbia. There was some suspicion as to the status of some of the Territorial delegates, but they were finally given seats with diminished voting strength.

David Wilmot, of Pennsylvania, was chosen temporary chairman, and George Ashmun, of Massachusetts, permanent president.

On the second day's session there was a long debate over the resolution reported from the committee on order of business, which presented the question whether a majority of the whole number of delegates, comprised all of the States of the Union fully represented in the electoral college (304 votes), or only a majority of the delegates voting, should be necessary to nominate. The first proposition—almost the equivalent of the Democratic two-thirds rule—was resisted strenuously by the friends of Mr. Seward, and was rejected by yeas, 331; nays, 130.

The platform, as reported by Mr. Jessup, of Pennsylvania, from the committee on resolutions, was amended, and as adopted, is as follows:

Resolved, That we, the delegated representatives of the Republican electors of the United States, in convention assembled, in discharge of the duty we owe to our constituents and our country, unite in the following declarations:

1. That the history of the nation during the last four years has fully established the propriety and necessity of the organization and perpetuation of the Republican party, and that the causes which called it into existence are permanent in their nature, and now, more than ever before, demand its peaceful and constitutional triumph.

2. That the maintenance of the principles promulgated in the Declaration of Independence and the federal constitution, "that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these rights governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed," is essential to the preservation of our Republican institutions; and that the federal constitution, the rights of the States, and the union of the States must and shall be preserved.

3. That to the union of the States this nation owes its unprecedented increase in population, its surprising development of material resources, its rapid augmentation of wealth, its happiness at home, and its honor abroad; and we hold in abhorrence all schemes for disunion, come from whatever source they may; and we congratulate the country that no Republican member of congress has uttered or countenanced the threats of disunion so often made by Democratic members without rebuke and with applause from their political associates; and we denounce those threats of disunion in case of a popular overthrow of their ascendency as denying the vital principles of a free government and as an avowal of contemplated treason which it is the imperative duty of an indignant people sternly to rebuke and forever silence.

4. That the maintenance inviolate of the rights of the States, and especially the rights of each State to order and control its own domestic institutions according to its own judgment exclusively, is essential to that balance of power on which the perfection and endurance of our political fabric depends, and we denounce the lawless invasion by armed force of the soil of any State or Territory, no matter under what pretext, as among the gravest of crimes.

5. That the present Democratic administration has far exceeded our worst apprehension in its measureless subserviency to the exactions of a sectional interest, as especially evinced in its desperate exertions to force the infamous Lecompton constitution upon the protesting people of Kansas: in construing the personal relation between master and servant to involve an unqualified property in persons; in its attempted enforcement, everywhere, on land and sea, through the intervention of congress and of the federal courts, and of the extreme pretensions of a purely local interest; and in its general and unvarying abuse of the power intrusted to it by a confiding people.

6. That the people justly view with alarm the extravagance which pervades every department of the federal government; that a return to rigid economy and accountability is indispensible to arrest the systematic plunder of the public treasury by favored partisans, while the recent startling developments of fraud and corruption at the federal metropolis show that an entire change of administration is imperatively demanded.

7. That the new dogma that the constitution of its own force carries slavery into any or all the teriitories of the United States is a dangerous political heresy, at variance with the explicit provisions of that instrument itself, with contemporaneous exposition, and with legislative and judicious precedent; is revolutionary in its tendency, and subversive of the peace and harmony of the country.

8. That the normal condition of all of the territory of the United States is that of freedom; that as our Republican fathers, when they abolished slavery in all our national territory, ordained that "no person shall be deprived of life, liberty, or property without due process of law," it becomes our duty, by legislation, whenever such legislation is necessary, to maintain this provision of the constitution against all attempts to violate it; and we deny the authority of congress, of a territorial legislation, or of any individuals, to give legal existence to slavery in any territory of the United States.

9. That we brand the recent reopening of the African slave trade, under the cover of our national flag, aided by perversions of judicial power, as a crime against humanity and a burning shame to our country and age; and we call upon congress to take prompt and efficient measures for the total and final suppression of that execrable traffic.

10. That in the recent vetoes by their federal governors of the acts of the legislatures of Kansas and Nebraska prohibiting slavery in those territories, we find a practical illustration of the boasted Democratic principle of non-intervention and popular sovereignty in the Kansas-Nebraska bill, and a demonstration of the deception and fraud involved therein.

11. That Kansas should of right be immediately admitted as a State under the constitution recently formed and adopted by her people and accepted by the house of representatives.

12. That, while providing revenue for the support of the general government by duties upon imports, sound policy requires such an adjustment of these imports as to encourage the development of the industrial interests of the whole country; and we commend that policy of national exchanges which secures to the workingmen liberal wages, to agriculture remunerative prices, to mechanics and manufacturers an adequate reward for their skill, labor, and enterprise, and to the nation commercial prosperity and independence.

13. That we protest against any sale or alienation to others of the public lands held by actual settlers, and against any view of the free homestead policy which regards the settlers as paupers or suppliants for public bounty; and we demand the passage by congress of the complete and satisfactory homestead measure which has already passed the house.

14. That the Republican party is opposed to any change in our naturalization laws, of any State legislation by which the rights of citizenship hitherto accorded to immigrants from foreign lands shall abridged or impaired, and in

favor of giving a full and efficient protection to the rights of all classes of citizens, whether native or naturalized, both at home and abroad.

15. That appropriations by congress for river and harbor improvements of a national character required for the accommodation and security of an existing commerce, are authorized by the constitution and justified by the obligation of government to protect the lives and property of its citizens.

16. That a railroad to the Pacific Ocean is imperatively demanded by the interests of the whole country; that the federal government ought to render immediate and efficient aid to its construction; and that as a preliminary thereto a daily overland mail should be promptly established.

17. Finally, having thus set forth our distinctive principle and views, we invite the co-operation of all citizens, however differing on other questions, who substantially agree with us in their affirmance and support.

On May 18 the names of candidates for president were presented but without nominating speeches. Three ballots were taken with the following result:

CANDIDATES.	First.	Second.	Third.
Whole number of votes	465	465	465
Necessary to a choice	233	233	233
William H. Seward of New York	173½	184½	180
Abraham Lincoln of Illinois	102	181	231½
Simon Cameron of Pennsylvania	50½	2	.....
Salmon P. Chase of Ohio	49	42½	24½
Edward Bates of Missouri	48	35	22
Wm. L. Dayton of New Jersey	14	10	1
John McLean of Ohio	12	8	5
Jacob Collamer of Vermont	10	.....	.....
Scattering	6	2	1

When the third roll-call was completed, Mr. Lincoln was within 1½ votes of a nomination. Four votes were transferred to him from the Massachusetts delegation by Gov. John A. Andrew, after which several delegations changed in his favor, until he had 354 votes, the remaining votes being cast as follows: For Mr. Seward—Massachusetts, 8; New York, 70; New Jersey, 5; Pennsylvania, ½; Maryland, 2; Michigan, 12; Wisconsin, 10; California, 3—total 110½. For Mr. Dayton 1 vote (New Jersey) and 1 vote for Mr. McLean. The convention then took a recess, and two ballots were had for a candidate for vice-president, with the following result—viz:

	First.	Second.
Hannibal Hamlin of Maine	194	367
Cassius M. Clay of Kentucky	101½	86
John Hickman of Pennsylvania	58	13
Andrew H. Reeder of Pennsylvania	51	..
Nathaniel P. Banks of Massachusetts	38½	..
Scattering	15	..

The nomination of Mr. Hamlin having been made unanimous, Mr. Giddings of Ohio submitted the following resolution, which was adopted:

Resolved, That we deeply sympathize with those men who have been driven, some from their native States and others from the States of their adoption, and one now exiled from his home on account of their opinions; and we hold the Democratic party responsible for the gross violation of that clause of the constitution which declares that citizens of each State shall be entitled to all the privileges and immunities of the citizens of the several States.

The convention then adjourned.

The general confidence of the Republicans that they were to be victorious, was not misplaced. The early elections in Maine, Indiana, Ohio and Pennsylvania foreshadowed Mr. Lincoln's election and every Northern State save New Jersey was carried.

Thirty-three States participated in this election—Minnesota having been admitted May 11, 1858, and Oregon, Feb. 12, 1859.

The popular and electoral vote was as follows:

POPULAR AND ELECTORAL VOTE OF 1860.

STATES.	POPULAR.				ELECTORAL.			
	Lincoln, Republican.	Douglas, Northern Democrat.	Breckenridge, Southern Democrat.	Bell.	Lincoln.	Douglass.	Breckinridge	Bell.
Alabama	.....	13,651	48,831	27,875	.....	.....	9	.....
Arkansas	.....	5,227	28,732	20,094	.....	.....	4	.....
California	39,173	38,516	34,334	6,817	4	.....	.....	.....
Connecticut	43,692	15,522	14,641	3,291	6	.....	.....	.....
Delaware	3,815	1,023	7,347	3,864	.....	.....	3	.....
Florida	.....	367	8,543	5,437	.....	.....	3	.....
Georgia	.....	11,590	51,889	42,886	.....	.....	10	.....
Illinois	172,161	160,255	2,404	3,913	12	.....	.....	.....
Indiana	139,033	115,509	12,295	5,306	13	.....	.....	.....
Iowa	70.409	55,111	1,048	1,763	4	.....	.....	.....
Kentucky	1,364	25,651	53,143	66,058	.....	.....	.....	12
Louisiana	.....	7,625	22,681	20,204	.....	.....	6	.....
Maine	62,811	26,693	6,368	2,046	8	.....	.....	.....
Maryland	2,294	5,966	42,482	41,760	.....	.....	8	.....
Massachusetts	106,533	34,372	5,939	22,331	13	.....	.....	.....
Michigan	88,480	65,057	805	405	6	.....	.....	.....
Minnesota	22,069	11,920	748	62	4	.....	.....	.....
Mississippi	.....	3,293	40,797	25,040	.....	.....	7	.....
Missouri	17,028	58,801	31,317	58,372	.....	9	.....	.....
New Hampshr.	37,519	25,881	2,112	441	5	.....	.....	.....
New Jersey	58,324	62,801	.....	.....	4	3	.....	.....
New York	362,646	312,510	.....	.....	35	.....	.....	.....
North Carolina	.....	2,701	48,339	44,090	.....	.....	10	.....
Ohio	231,610	187,232	11,405	12,194	23	.....	.....	.....
Oregon	5,270	3,951	3,006	183	3	.....	.....	.....
Pennsylvania	268,030	16,765	178,871	12,776	27	.....	.....	.....
Rhode Island	12,244	7,707	.....	.....	4	.....	.....	.....
*S Carolina	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	8	.....
Tennessee	.....	11,350	64,709	69,274	.....	.....	.....	12
Texas	.....	.....	47,548	15,438	.....	.....	4	.....
Vermont	33,808	6,849	1,967	218	5	.....	.....	15
Virginia	1,929	16,290	74,323	74,681	.....	.....	.....	.....
Wisconsin	86,110	65,021	888	161	5	.....	.....	.....
Total	866,351	1,375,157	847,514	587,830	180	12	72	39

*By Legislature.

THIRD NATIONAL CONVENTION.

At Baltimore, Md., June 7, 1864—Lincoln and Johnson.

The election of 1864 took place during the throes of the great civil war. It had long been manifest that the Republican convention called to meet in Baltimore on June 7, would renominate Mr. Lincoln. A small, but active—if not bitter—minority of the Republican party complained of his conservatism and unwillingness to adopt certain radical or extreme measures, which they deemed essential to success, and an attempt was made to forestall the action of the Baltimore convention by calling a convention in Cleveland, which met on May 31. It contained about three hundred and fifty persons, Gen. John Cochrane being made president. Gen. John C. Fremont was nominated for president by acclamation, and Gen. Cochrane—with a few dissenting votes—for vice-president. Sept. 21 both withdrew their acceptance of the nominations.

The Baltimore convention was presided over temporarily by the Rev. Dr. Robert J. Breckenridge of Kentucky, and ex-Gov. William Dennison of Ohio was chosen permanent president.

The rules of the House of Representatives were adopted for the government of the convention.

The following platform, reported by Henry J. Raymond of New York, from the committee on resolutions, was unanimously adopted:

Resolved, That it is the highest duty of every American citizen to maintain against all their enemies the integrity of the Union and the paramount authority of the constitution and laws of the United States; and that, laying aside all differences of political opinion, we pledge ourselves as union men, animated by a common sentiment, and aiming at a common object, to do everything in our power to aid the government in quelling by force of arms the rebellion now waging against its authority, and in bringing to the punishment due to their crimes the rebels and traitors arrayed against it.

Resolved, That we approve the determination of the government of the United States not to compromise with rebels, nor to offer any terms of peace except such as may be based upon an "unconditional" surrender of their hostility and a return to their allegiance to the constitution and laws of the United States, and that we call upon the government to maintain this position and to prosecute the war with the utmost possible vigor to the complete suppression of the rebellion.

Resolved, That, as slavery was the cause, and now constitutes the strength of this rebellion, and it must be always and everywhere hostile to the principles of Republican government, justice and the national safety demand its utter and complete extirpation from the soil of the republic, and that we uphold and maintain the acts and proclamations by which the government, in its own defense, has aimed a death blow at this gigantic evil. We are in favor, furthermore, of such an amendment to the constitution, to be made by the people in conformity with its provisions, as shall terminate and forever prohibit the existence of slavery within the limits of the jurisdiction of the United States.

Resolved, That the thanks of the American people are due to the soldiers and sailors of the army and navy, who have periled their lives in defense of their country, and in vindication of the honor of the flag; that the nation owes to them some permanent recognition of their patriotism and valor, and ample and permanent provision for those of their survivors who have received

disabling and honorable wounds in the service of the country: and that the memories of those who have fallen in its defense shall be held in grateful and everlasting remembrance.

Resolved, That we approve and applaud the practical wisdom, the unselfish patriotism, and unswerving fidelity to the constitution and principles of American liberty, with which Abraham Lincoln has discharged, under circumstances of unparalleled difficulty, the great duties and responsibilities of the presidential office; that we approve and indorse, as demanded by the emergency and essential to the preservation of the nation, and as within the constitution, the measures and acts which he has adopted to defend the nation against its open and secret foes; that we approve especially the proclamation of emancipation, and the employment as union soldiers of men heretofore held in slavery; and that we have full confidence in his determination to carry these and all other constitutional measures essential to the salvation of the country into full and complete effect.

Resolved, That we deem it essential to the general welfare that harmony should prevail in the national councils, and we regard as worthy of public confidence and official trust those only who cordially indorse the principles proclaimed in these resolutions, and which should characterize the administration of the government.

Resolved, That the government owes to all men employed in its armies, without regard to distinction or color, the full protection of the laws of war, and that any violation of these laws of the usages of civilized nations in the time of war by the rebels now in arms should be made the subject of full and prompt redress.

Resolved, That the foreign immigration, which in the past has added so much to the wealth and development of resources and increase of power to this nation, the asylum of the oppressed of all nations, should be fostered and encouraged by liberal and just policy.

Resolved, That we are in favor of the speedy construction of a railroad to the Pacific.

Resolved, That the national faith, pledged for the redemption of the public debt, must be kept inviolate; and that for this purpose we recommend economy and rigid responsibility in the public expenditures, and a vigorous and just system of taxation; and it is the duty of every loyal State to sustain the credit and promote the use of the national currency.

Resolved, That we approve the position taken by the government that the people of the United States never regarded with indifference the attempt of any European power to overthrow by force, or to supplant by fraud, the institutions of any Republican government on the western continent, and that they view with extreme jealousy, as menacing to the peace and independence of this our country, the efforts of any such power to obtain new footholds for monarchial governments, sustained by a foreign military force, in near proximity to the United States.

The convention then proceeded to a formal vote for a candidate for President, and Mr. Lincoln received the vote of every State (the States in rebellion being unrepresented) except that of Missouri, the delegates from which, under instructions from their convention, were cast for Gen. Grant.

The convention then balloted for a candidate for vice-president, with the following result:

Andrew Johnson of Tennessee	200
Hannibal Hamlin of Maine	145
Daniel S. Dickinson of New York	113
Benjamin F. Butler of Massachusetts	28
Lovell H. Rosseau of Kentucky	21
Scattering	13

Before the result was declared changes took place, the final result being that Mr. Johnson received 494 votes, Dickinson 17, and Hamlin 8.

Henry J. Raymond, of New York, was elected chairman and Edward McPherson secretary of the Republican national committee. The sole Republican argument that it was the duty of every patriot to sustain the government in its "vigorous prosecution of the war to crush rebellion and save the Union," resulted in Mr. Lincoln receiving the electoral vote of every State (not in rebellion) except Delaware, Kentucky and New Jersey. Mr. Lincoln received 212 electoral votes and Gen. McClellan 21; the popular vote being, for Mr. Lincoln, 2,216,067; for Gen. McClellan, 1,808,725, a majority for Mr. Lincoln of 407,342. The States of Kansas and West Virginia had been admitted since the election of 1860, the former with one and the latter with three representatives.

FOURTH NATIONAL CONVENTION.

At Chicago, Ill., May 20, 21, 1868—Grant and Colfax.

By the assassination of President Lincoln on April 14, 1865, Andrew Johnson, the vice-president, became President. Mr. Johnson had been nominated with the view of recognizing the war Democrats and the "sturdy Unionists of the South." From a position of almost violent hatred of the people of the rebellious States, or at least the leaders in the late rebellion, he changed his attitude so radically in a few months, that he was in direct antagonism with the party which elected him, in respect to its policy for the reconstruction or reorganization of the seceding States. It is no part of the purpose of the writer to narrate details of the long and bitter contest which only ended on his retirement from office on March 4, 1869. Suffice it to say that the campaign of 1868 was fought upon the issues growing out of the reconstruction acts of congress, the amendments to the constitution, and the suffrage and citizenship they conferred upon the colored race.

The Republican national convention convened in Chicago on May 20, 1868. There was practically no contest for the nomination for President, it being almost universally conceded that Gen. Ulysses S. Grant was the natural and inevitable choice of the Republicans for that office. The controlling reasons were his great military achievements, the part he took in the controversy with President Johnson, and the fact that he was known to be in sympathy with the Republican party in respect to the questions growing out of the war. This was demonstrated to the full satisfaction of the convention of soldiers and sailors presided over by Gen. John A. Logan, which met previous to the meeting of the convention and passed resolutions earnestly demanding his nomination.

The convention was called to order by Gov. Ward, chairman of the Republican national committee, who presented the name of Carl Schurz for temporary chairman. An organization was then perfected, Gen. Joseph R. Hawley, of Connecticut, being made president. Mr. Barker, of New York, from the committee on rules and order of business, made a report which was adopted with slight amendment.

Richard W. Thompson, of Indiana, from the committee on resolutions, then reported the following platform:

The national Republican party of the United States, assembled in national convention in the city of Chicago on the 21st day of May, 1868, make the following declaration of principles:

1. We congratulate the country on the assured success of the reconstruction policy of congress, as evidenced by the adoption in the majority of the States lately in rebellion of constitutions securing equal civil and political rights to all; and it is the duty of the government to sustain those constitutions and to prevent the people of such States from being remitted to a state of anarchy.

2. The guarantee by congress of equal suffrage to all loyal men at the South was demanded by every consideration of public safety, of gratitude, and of justice, and must be maintained; while the question of suffrage in all of the loyal States properly belongs to the people of those States.

3. We denounce all forms of repudiation as a national crime, and the national honor requires the payment of the public indebtedness in the uttermost good faith to all creditors at home and abroad, not only according to the letter but the spirit of the laws under which it was contracted.

4. It is due to the labor of the nation that taxation should be equalized and reduced as rapidly as the national faith will permit.

5. The national debt, contracted as it has been for the preservation of the union for all time to come, should be extended over a fair period of redemption, and it is the duty of congress to reduce the rate of interest thereon whenever it can be honestly done.

6. That the best policy to diminish our burden of debt is to so improve our credit that capitalists will seek to loan us money at lower rates of interest than we now pay and must continue to pay so long as repudiation, partial or total, open or covert, is threatened or suspected.

7. The government of the United States should be administered with the strictest economy; and the corruptions which have been so shamefully nursed and fostered by Andrew Johnson call loudly for radical reform.

8. We profoundly deplore the untimely and tragic death of Abraham Lincoln, and regret the accession to the presidency of Andrew Jackson, who has acted treacherously to the people who elected him and the cause he was pledged to support; who has usurped high legislative and judicial functions; who has refused to execute the laws; who has used his high office to induce others to ignore and violate the laws; who has employed his executive powers to render insecure the property, the peace, liberty and life of the citizen; who has abused the pardoning power; who has denounced the national legislature as unconstitutional; who has persistently and corruptly resisted, by every means in his power, every proper attempt at the reconstruction of the States lately in rebellion; who has perverted the public patronage into an engine of wholesale corruption, and who has been justly impeached for high crimes and misdemeanors, and properly pronounced guilty thereof by the vote of thirty-five senators.

9. The doctrine by Great Britain and other European powers, that because a man is once a subject he is always so, must be resisted at every hazard by the United States as a relic of feudal times, not authorized by the laws of nations and at war with our national honor and independence. Naturalized

citizens are entitled to protection in all their rights of citizenship as though they were native born; and no citizen of the United States, native or naturalized, must be liable to arrest and imprisonment by any foreign power for acts done or words spoken in this country, and if so arrested and imprisoned it is the duty of the government to interfere in his behalf.

10. Of all who were faithful in the trials of the late war, there were none entitled to more especial honor than the brave soldiers and seamen who endured the hardships of campaign and cruise, and imperiled their lives in the service of the country; the bounties and pensions provided by the laws for these brave defenders of the nation are obligations never to be forgotten; the widows and orphans of the gallant dead are the wards of the people—a sacred legacy bequeathed to the nation's protecting care.

11. Foreign immigration, which in the past has added so much to the wealth, development and resources, and increase of power to this republic, the asylum of the oppressed of all nations, should be fostered and encouraged by a liberal and just policy.

12. This convention declares itself in sympathy with all oppressed peoples struggling for their rights.

13. That we highly commend the spirit of magnanimity and forbearance with which men who have served in the rebellion, but who now frankly and honestly co-operate with us in restoring the peace of the country and reconstructing the Southern State governments upon the basis of impartial justice and equal rights, are received back into the communion of loyal people; and we favor the removal of the disqualifications and restrictions imposed upon the late rebels in the same measure as the spirit of disloyalty will die out, and as may be consistent with the safety of the loyal people.

14. That we recognize the great principles laid down in the immortal Declaration of Independence as the true foundation of democratic government, and we hail with gladness every effort toward making these principles a living reaiity on every inch of American soil.

The platform was adopted with slight amendments offered by Mr. Schurz after a sharp debate. Nominations for a candidate being then in order, Gen. John A. Logan presented the name of Gen. Ulysses S. Grant in a short but stirring speech, and the roll of States been called, every vote—650 in all—was cast for him. The convention then proceeded to ballot for a candidate for vice-president, five ballots being necessary to effect a nomination. The several ballots resulted as follows, viz.:

	First.	Second.	Third.	Fourth.	Fifth.
Benjamin E. Wade, Ohio	147	170	178	206	38
Reuben E. Fenton, N. Y.	126	144	139	144	69
Henry Wilson, Mass.	119	114	101	87	.....
Schuyler Colfax, Indiana	115	145	165	186	541
Andrew G. Curtin, Pa.	51	45	40	.....	....
Hannibal Hamlin, Maine	28	30	25	25	.....
James Speed, Kentucky	22	.....	.....	.....	.....
James Harlan, Iowa	16	.....	.....	.....	.....
John A. J. Cresswell, Md.	14	.....	.....	.....	.....
Samuel C. Pomeroy, Kas.	6	.....	.....	.....	.....
William D. Kelley, Pa.	4	.....	.....	.....	.....

The votes of thirty-three of the thirty-seven States (Nebraska having been admitted March 1, 1867), were counted, the States of

Florida, Mississippi, Texas and Virginia, not being entitled to representation in congress, were excluded from the electoral college, and the case of Georgia being in doubt.

The popular and electoral vote was as follows:

POPULAR AND ELECTORAL VOTE OF 1868.

STATES.	POPULAR.		ELECTORAL.	
	Grant, Republican.	Seymour, Democrat.	Grant.	Seymour.
Alabama	76,366	72,088	8	
Arkansas	22,112	19,078	5	
California	54,583	54,077	5	
Connecticut	50,995	47,952	6	
Delaware	7,623	10,980		3
†Florida			3	
Georgia	57,184	102,722		9
Illinois	250,303	199,134	16	
Indiana	176,548	166,980	13	
Iowa	120,399	74,040	8	
Kansas	31,048	13,990	3	
Kentucky	39,566	115,890		11
Louisiana	33,263	80,225		7
Maine	70,493	42,460	7	
Maryland	30,438	62,367		7
Massachusetts	136,477	59,408	12	
Michigan	128,550	97,069	8	
Minnesota	43,545	28,075	4	
Missouri	86,860	65,628	11	
Nebraska	9,729	5,439	3	
Nevada	6,480	5,218	3	
New Hampshire	38,191	31,224	5	
New Jersey	80,131	83,001		7
New York	419,883	429,883		33
North Carolina	96,769	84,601	9	
Ohio	280,223	238,606	21	
Oregon	10,961	11,125		3
Pennsylvania	342,280	313,382	26	
Rhode Island	12,993	6,548	4	
South Carolina	62,301	45,237	6	
Tennessee	56,728	26,129	10	
Vermont	44,167	12,045	5	
West Virginia	29,175	20,306	5	
Wisconsin	108,857	84,707	8	
Totals	3,015,071	2,709,613	214	80

† Electors chosen by the Legislature.
Mississippi, 7; Texas, 6; Virginia 10, not voting.
Nebraska admitted.

The count of the electoral vote took place Feb. 10 under the twenty-second joint rule of congress, and a scene of indescribable disorder and confusion followed, largely due to the inability of the presiding officer, Senator Wade (as president pro tempore of the senate), to comprehend the questions presented and his want of experience and ability as a presiding officer. The incidents and events

which then occurred demonstrated the need of legislation to regulate the count of the electoral vote and led to subsequent legislation on the subject.

FIFTH NATIONAL CONVENTION.

At Philadelphia, Pa., June 5-6, 1872—Grant and Wilson.

In spite of the disaffection of many of the old leaders of the Republican party toward President Grant's administration, culminating in the Liberal Republican convention, which met at Cincinnati May 1 and nominated Horace Greeley for President and B. Gratz Brown, of Missouri, for Vice-President, it was evident that the only contest in the Republican national convention would be over the vice-presidency.

The convention was called to order by William Clafflin, of Massachusetts, chairman of the national committee, who, under instruction of said committee, announced the appointment of Morton McMichael, of Philadelphia, as temporary chairman.

An organization was perfected by the appointment of the usual committees, the committee on permanent organization presenting the name of Thomas Settle, of North Carolina, for president, and Henry H. Bingham, of Pennsylvania, for secretary, after which the convention adjourned.

The following day, June 6, Mr. Ames, of Massachusetts, from the committee on rules and order of business, submitted the following report, which was unanimously agreed to, viz.:

Rule 1. Upon all subjects before the convention the States shall be called in alphabetical order, and next the Territories.

Rule 2. Each State shall be entitled to double the number of its senators and representatives in congress, according to the recent apportionment, and each Territory shall be entitled to two votes. The vote of each delegation shall be reported by its chairman.

Rule 3. The report of the committee on credentials shall be disposed of before the report of the committee on platform and resolutions is acted upon, and the report of the committee on platform and resolutions shall be disposed of before the convention proceed to the nomination of candidates for president and vice-president.

Rule 4. In making the nominations for president and vice-president in no case shall the calling of the roll be dispensed with. When it shall appear that any candidate has received the majority of the votes cast, the president of the convention shall announce the question to be: "Shall the nomination of the candidate be made unanimous?" But if no candidate shall have received a majority of the votes, the chair shall direct the vote to be again taken, which shall be repeated until some candidate shall have received a majority of the votes cast.

Rule 5. When a majority of the delegates from any two States shall demand that a vote be recorded, the same shall be taken by States, the secretary calling the roll of States in the order henceforth stated.

Rule 6. In the record of the vote by States the vote of each State shall be announced by the chairman, and in case the votes of any State shall be divided the chairman shall announce the number of votes cast for any candidate, or for or against any proposition.

Rule 7. When the previous question shall be demanded by a majority of the delegation of any State, and the demand seconded by two or more States, and the call sustained by the majority of the convention the question shall then be proceeded with and disposed of according to the rules of the house of representatives in similar cases.

Rule 8. No member shall speak more than once upon the same question, nor longer than five minutes, unless by leave of the convention, except that the delegates presenting the name of a candidate shall be allowed ten minutes to present the name of such candidate.

Rule 9. The rules of the house of representatives shall be the rules of this convention so far as they are applicable and not inconsistent with the foregoing rules.

Rule 10. A Republican national committee shall be appointed to consist of one member from each State, Territory, and district. The roll shall be called and the delegation from each State, Territory, and district shall name, through their chairman, a person to act as a member of such committee.

After several general speeches had been made, Shelby M. Cullom of Illinois presented the name of Ulysses S. Grant as a candidate for president of the United States for a second term. Steward L. Woodford of New York and M. D. Bonuck of California, on behalf of their states, seconded and indorsed the nomination, after which the roll of States was called by the secretary, each State and Territory casting its entire vote for Gen. Grant. The president announced that Ulysses S. Grant had received 752 votes—the entire vote of the convention—and was unanimously nominated.

The rules were then suspended and the convention proceeded to vote for a candidate for vice-president.

The name of Henry Wilson of Massachusetts was presented by Morton McMichael of Pennsylvania, and seconded by George B. Loring of Massachusetts, Gerrit Smith of New York, and John F. Quarles of Georgia; the name of Schuyler Colfax of Indiana, by Richard W. Thompson of Indiana, which was seconded by William A. Howard of Michigan, John R. Lynch of Mississippi, and Cortland Parker of New Jersey. The name of John F. Lewis of Virginia was presented by James B. Sener of that State; the name of E. J. Davis of Texas, by Webster Flanagan of that State, and the name of Horace Maynard of Tennessee, by David A. Nunn of said State.

At this point Glenni W. Scofield of Pennsylvania, chairman of the committee on resolutions, reported the following platform, which was unanimously adopted without debate, except the nineteenth resolution, which was submitted and adopted after the nomination of the vice-president:

The Republican party of the United States, assembled in national convention in the city of Philadelphia, on the 5th and 6th days of June, 1872, again declares its faith, appeals to its history, and announces its position upon the questions before the country:

1. During eleven years of supremacy it has accepted with grand courage the solemn duties of the time. It suppressed a gigantic rebellion, emancipated 4,000,000 of slaves, decreed the equal citizenship of all, and established universal suffrage. Exhibiting unparalleled magnanimity, it criminally

punished no man for political offenses, and warmly welcomed all who proved loyalty by obeying the laws and dealing justly with their neighbors. It has steadily decreased with firm hand the reluctant disorders of a great war, and initiated a wise and humane policy toward the Indians. The Pacific railroad and similar vast enterprises have been generously aided and successfully conducted, the public lands freely given to actual settlers, immigration protected and encouraged, and a full acknowledgement of the naturalized citizen's rights secured from European powers. A uniform national currency has been provided, repudiation frowned down, the national credit sustained under the most extraordinary burdens, and new bonds negotiated at low rates. The revenues have been carefully collected and honestly applied. Despite annual large reductions of the rates of taxation the public debt has been reduced during Gen. Grant's presidency at the rate of $100,000,000 a year, great financial crises have been avoided, and peace and plenty prevail throughout the land. Menacing foreign difficulties have been peacefully and honorably composed, and the honor and power of the Nation kept in high respect throughout the world. This glorious record of the past is the party's best pledge for the future. We believe the people will not intrust the government to any party or combination of men composed chiefly of those who have resisted every step of this beneficent progress.

2. The recent amendments to the National constitution should be cordially sustained because they are right, not merely tolerated because they are law, and should be carried out according to their spirit by appropriate legislation, the enforcement of which can safely be intrusted only to the party that secured those amendments.

3. Complete liberty and exact equality in the enjoyment of all civil, political, and public rights should be established and effectually maintained throughout the Union by efficient and appropriate State and federal legislation. Neither the law nor its administration should admit any discrimination in respect of citizens by reason of race, creed, color, or previous condition of servitude.

4. The National government should seek to maintain honorable peace with all nations, protecting its citizens everywhere, and sympathizing with all peoples who strive for greater liberty.

5. Any system of the civil service under which the positions of the government are considered rewards for mere party zeal is fatally demoralizing, and we therefore favor a reform of the system by laws which shall abolish the evils of patronage and make honesty, efficiency, and fidelity the qualifications for public positions, without practically creating a life tenure of office.

6. We are opposed to further grants of public lands to corporations and monopolies, and demand that the national domain be set apart for free homes for the people.

7. The annual revenue, after paying current expenditures and the interest on the public debt, should furnish a moderate balance on the reduction of the principal, and that revenue, except so much as may be derived from a tax upon tobacco and liquors, should be raised by duties upon importations, the details of which should be so adjusted as to aid in securing remunerative wages to labor and promote the industries, prosperity, and growth of the whole country.

8. We hold in undying honor the soldiers and sailors whose valor saved the Union. Their pensions are a sacred debt of the nation and the widows and orphans of those who died for their country are entitled to the care of a generous and grateful people. We favor such additional legislation as will extend the bounty of the government to all of our soldiers and sailors who were honorably discharged, and who in the line of duty became disabled, without regard to the length of service or the cause of such discharge.

9. The doctrine of Great Britain and other European powers concerning allegiance — "once a subject always a subject" — having at last, through efforts of the Republican party, been abandoned, and the American idea of

the individual's right to transfer allegiance having been accepted by European nations, it is the duty of our government to guard with jealous care the rights of adopted citizens against the assumption of unauthorized claims by the former governments, and we urge continued, careful encouragement and protection of voluntary immigration.

10. The franking privilege ought to be abolished, and the way prepared for a speedy reduction in the rates of postage.

11. Among the questions which press for attention is that which concerns the relations of capital and labor, and the Republican party recognizes the duty of so shaping legislation as to secure full protection and the amplest field for capital, and for labor, the creator of capital, the largest opportunities, and a just share of the mutual profits of these two great servants of civilization.

12. We hold that congress and the president have only fulfilled an imperative duty in their measures for the suppression of violent and treasonable organizations in certain lately rebellious regions, and for the protection of the ballot box; and, therefore, they are entitled to the thanks of the nation.

13. We denounce repudiation of the public debt, in any form or disguise, as a national crime. We witness with pride the reduction of the principal of the debt, and of the rates of interest upon the balance, and confidently expect that our excellent national currency will be perfected by a speedy resumption of specie payment.

14. The Republican party is mindful of its obligations to the loyal women of America for their noble devotion to the cause of freedom. Their admission to the wider fields of usefulness is viewed with satisfaction; and the honest demand of any class of citizens for additional rights should be treated with respectful consideration.

15. We heartily approve the action of congress in extending amnesty to those lately in rebellion, and rejoice in the growth of peace and fraternal feeling throughout the land.

16. The Republican party proposes to respect the rights reserved by the people to themselves as the powers delegated by them to the State and to the federal government. It disapproves of the resort to unconstitutional laws for the purpose of removing evils, by interference with rights not surrendered by the people to either the State or national government.

17. It is the duty of the general government to adopt such measures as may tend to encourage and restore American commerce and shipbuilding.

18. We believe that the modest patriotism, the earnest purpose, the sound judgment, the practical wisdom, the incorruptible integrity, and the illustrious services of Ulysses S. Grant have commended him to the hearts of the American people, and with him at our head we start to-day upon a new march to victory.

19. Henry Wilson, nominated for the vice-presidency, known to the whole land from the early days of the great struggle for victory as an indefatigable laborer in all campaigns, and incorruptible legislator and representative man of American institutions, is worthy to associate with our great leader and share the honors which we pledge our best efforts to bestow upon them.

The nomination of Henry Wilson was further seconded by Gov. E. F. Noyes of Ohio, Mr. Hill of Mississippi, Powell Clayton of Arkansas, and the nomination of Schuyler Colfax by W. D. Bickham of Ohio.

The roll of States was then called, the vote standing at the conclusion of the roll-call as follows:

Wilson 361, Colfax 306.

STATES.	Number of delegates.	Henry Wilson of Mass.	Schuyler Colfax of Ind.
Alabama	20	12	7
Arkansas	12	12	..
California	12	13	..
Connecticut	12	6	6
Delaware	6	..	6
Florida	8	5	3
Georgia	22	16	6
Illinois	42	25	17
Indiana	30	..	30
Iowa	22	19	3
Kansas	10	10	..
Kentucky	24	4	20
Louisiana	16	5	11
Maine	14	4	10
Maryland	16	..	16
Massachusetts	26	26	..
Michigan	22	..	22
Minnesota	10	..	10
Mississippi	16	11	4
Missouri	30	27	2
Nebraska	6	2	4
Nevada	6	6	..
New Hampshire	10	10	..
New Jersey	18	..	18
New York	70	16	53
North Carolina	20	20	..
Ohio	44	30	14
Oregon	6	..	6
Pennsylvania	58	58	..
Rhode Island	8	..	8
South Carolina	14	9	5
*Tennessee	24	..	..
*Texas	16	..	..
Vermont	10	..	10
*Virginia	22	..	..
West Virginia	10	..	10
Wisconsin	20	15	5

Horace Maynard received 26 votes, John F. Lewis 22, E. J. Davis 16 and Joseph R. Hawley of Connecticut and E. F. Noyes of Ohio 1 each.

Twenty delegates from Virginia, nine from West Virginia and six from Georgia changed from Colfax to Wilson, the vote standing: Henry Wilson, 399½; Schuyler Colfax, 308½; Horace Maynard, 26; E. J. Davis, 16, and 2 scattering.

On motion of Henry S. Lane of Indiana, by instruction of his delegation, the nomination of Henry Wilson was made unanimous.

The president then read the following dispatch from Mr. Colfax, viz.:

WASHINGTON, D. C., June 6.

John W. Foster, Indiana delegation: Accept for yourself and delegation my sincere gratitude for your gallant contest. Men are nothing; principals everything. Nothing must arrest Republican triumph until equality under law, like liberty, from which it springs, is universally acknowledged, and the

citizenship of the humblest becomes a sure protection against outrage and wrong as was Roman citizenship of old. SCHUYLER COLFAX.

The convention then adjourned.

The popular and electoral vote was as follows:

POPULAR AND ELECTORAL VOTE, 1872.

STATES.	POPULAR.		ELECTORAL.	
	Grant, Republican.	Greeley, Liberal and Democrat.	Grant, Republican.	Greeley, Liberal and Democrat.
Alabama	90,272	79,444	10	
Arkansas	41,373	37,927		
California	54,020	40,718	6	
Connecticut	50,638	45,880	6	
Delaware	11,115	10,206	3	
Florida	17,763	15,427	4	
Georgia	62,550	76,356		11
Illinois	241,944	184,938	21	
Indiana	186,147	163,632	15	
Iowa	131,566	71,196	11	
Kansas	67,048	32,970	5	
Kentucky	88,766	99,995		12
Louisiana	71,663	57,029		
Maine	61,422	29,087	7	
Maryland	66,760	67,687		8
Massachusetts	133,472	59,260	13	
Michigan	138,455	78,355	11	
Minnesota	55,117	34,423	5	
Mississippi	82,175	47,288	8	
Missouri	119,196	151,434		15
Nebraska	18,329	7,812	3	
Nevada	8,413	6,236	3	
New Hampshire	37,168	31,424	5	
New Jersey	91,656	76,456	9	
New York	440,736	387,281	35	
North Carolina	94,769	70,094	10	
Ohio	281,853	244,321	22	
Oregon	11,819	7,730	3	
Pennsylvania	349,589	212,041	29	
Rhode Island	13,665	5,329	4	
South Carolina	72,290	22,708	7	
Tennessee	85,655	94,391		12
Texas	47,406	66,500		8
Vermont	41,481	10,927	5	
Virginia	93,468	91,054	11	
West Virginia	32,315	29,451	5	
Wisconsin	104,997	86,477	10	
Totals	3,597,070	2,834,097	286	66

Grant's majority, 727,975. O'Connor, "Straightout Democrat," 29,489.
Black, temperance, 5,608.

Mr. Greeley died Nov. 29, 1872, and the electoral votes to which he was entitled were distributed between Messrs. Hendricks of Indiana, Brown of Missouri, Jenkins of Georgia, and David Davis of Illinois, seventeen votes not being cast or counted for any person—viz: six from Arkansas, three from Georgia, and eight from Louisiana.

SIXTH NATIONAL CONVENTION.

At Cincinnati, O., June 14, 15 and 16, 1876—Hayes and Wheeler.

The Sixth national convention of the Republican party was called to order by ex-Gov. Edwin D. Morgan, of New York, chairman of the Republican national committee, at Cincinnati, O., at 12 m., June 14, 1876, who, on behalf of said committee, announced the nomination of Theodore M. Pomeroy of New York as temporary presiding officer of the convention. On motion, Irving M. Bean of Wisconsin, and Gen. H. H. Bingham of Pennsylvania were elected temporary secretaries, and E. W. Hicks of Wisconsin, sergeant-at-arms. A resolution was then adopted for a call of the roll of States and Territories, the chairman of each delegation to announce the names of the persons selected to serve on the following named committees—viz.: Credentials, permanent organization, rules and order of business, and resolutions. The roll was then called and the various committees chosen. Speeches were then made by Gen. Logan, ex-Gov. Hawley of Connecticut; ex-Gov. Noyes of Ohio; Rev. Henry Highland Govnett, of New York; William A. Howard of Michigan, and Frederick Douglass of New York, after which Mr. Loring of Massachusetts, from the committee on permanent organization, reported the name of Edward McPherson of Pennsylvania for president, and Irving M. Bean of Wisconsin for secretary, with a vice-president and assistant secretary from each State and Territory. The report was adopted and the convention adjourned until 1 o'clock a m., June 15.

Second Day, June 15, 1876—Mr. Cessna of Pennsylvania, from the committee on rules and order of business, submitted the following report establishing rules and order of business—viz.:

Rule 1. Upon all subjects before the convention the States shall be called in alphabetical order, and next the Territories and District of Columbia.

Rule 2. Each State shall be entitled to double the number of its senators and representatives in congress according to the late apportionment, and each Territory and the District of Columbia shall be entitled to two votes. The votes of each delegation shall be reported by its chairman.

Rule 3. The report of the committee on credentials shall be disposed of before the report of the committee on platform and resolutions is acted upon, and the report of the committee on platform and resolutions shall be disposed of before the convention proceeds to the nomination of candidates for president and vice-president.

Rule 4. In making the nominations for president and vice-president in no case shall the calling of the roll be dispensed with when it shall appear that any candidate has received the majority of the votes cast.

The president of the convention shall announce the question to be, "Shall the nomination of the candidate be made unanimous?" but, if no candidate shall have received a majority of the votes the chair shall direct the vote to be again taken, which shall be repeated until some candidate shall have received a majority of the votes cast; and when any State has announced its vote it shall so stand until the ballot is announced, unless in case of numerical error.

Rule 5. When a majority of the delegates of any two States shall demand

that a vote be recorded, the same shall be taken by States, Territories and the District of Columbia—the secretary calling the roll of the States and Territories in the order heretofore stated, and the District of Columbia.

Rule 6. In the record of the votes by States the vote of each State, Territory and the District of Columbia shall be announced by the chairman; and in case the votes of any State, Territory or the District of Columbia shall be divided the chairman shall announce the number of votes cast for any candidate or for or against any proposition.

Rule 7. When the previous question shall be demanded by the majority of the delegates from any State, and the demand seconded by two or more States, and the call sustained by a majority of the convention, the question shall then be proceeded with and disposed of according to the rules of the house of representatives in similar cases.

Rule 8. No member shall speak more than once upon the same question, nor longer than five minutes, unless by leave of the convention, except that delegates presenting the name of a candidate shall be allowed ten minutes in presenting the name of such candidates.

Rule 9. The rules of the house of representatives shall be the rules of this convention, so far as they are applicable and not inconsistent with the foregoing rules.

Rule 10. A Republican national committee shall be appointed, to consist of one member from each State, Territory and district represented in the convention. The roll shall be called and the delegation from each State, Territory and district shall name, through their chairman, a person to act as a member of such committee.

After debate the report was adopted. Mr. Ensor of Maryland, chairman of the committee on credentials, made a report that full delegations were present from all the States and Territories, with the exception of the States of Nevada and South Carolina, and recommending that in those cases the delegates present be authorized to cast the full vote of their respective States. He also reported that the only contests were from the States of Alabama and Florida and the District of Columbia, and submitted the names of the delegates agreed upon by the committee as entitled to seats; also recommending that the twenty-two delegates from Arkansas present be admitted to seats. Mr. Harris, of Nevada, submitted a minority report signed by himself and Messrs. Atkins of Georgia, Swails of South Carolina, Steele of Indiana, Sharp of Tennessee, Rosenblatt of Missouri, Nash of Louisiana, Benton of North Carolina, Quay of Pennsylvania, Platt of New York, and Newcomb of Texas. The report of the committee, except as to Alabama, was adopted, and after debate the minority report, proposing to seat the delegation headed by George E. Spencer, was rejected on a roll-call by yeas 354, nays 275, and the majority report was then adopted.

Ex-Gov. Hawley, of Connecticut, from the committee on resolutions, then reported the following platform:

When, in the economy of Providence, this land was to be purged of human slavery, and when the strength of government of the people, by the people, and for the people was to be demonstrated, the Republican party came into power. Its deeds have passed into history, and we look back to them with pride. Incited by their memories to high aims for the good of our country and mankind, and looking to the future with unfaltering courage,

hope and purpose we. the representatives of the party in national convention assembled, make the following declaration of principles:

1. The United States of America is a nation, not a league. By the combined workings of the National and State governments, under their respective constitutions, the rights of every citizen are secured, at home and abroad, and the common welfare promoted.

2. The Republican party has preserved these governments to the hundredth anniversary of the Nation's birth, and they are now embodiments of the great truths spoken at its cradle—"that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness; that for the attainment of these ends governments have been instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed." Until these truths are cheerfully obeyed, or if need be vigorously enforced, the work of the Republican party is unfinished.

3. The permanent pacification of the Southern section of the Union and the complete protection of all its citizens in the free enjoyment of all of their rights is a duty to which the Republican party stands sacredly pledged. The power to provide for the enforcement of the principles embodied in the recent constitutional amendments is vested by these amendments in the congress of the United States, and we declare it to be the solemn obligation of the legislative and executive departments of the government to put into immediate and vigorous exercise all their constitutional powers for removing any just causes of discontent on the part of any class and for securing to every American citizen complete liberty and exact equality in the exercise of all civil, political and public rights. To this end we imperatively demand a congress and chief executive whose courage and fidelity to those duties shall not falter until these results are placed beyond dispute or recall.

4. In the first act of congress signed by president Grant the national government assumed to remove any doubts of its purpose to discharge all just obligations to the public creditors, and "solemnly pledged its faith to make provision at the earliest practicable period for the redemption of United States notes in coin." Commercial prosperity, public morals, and national credit demand that this promise be fulfilled by a continuous and steady progress to specie payment.

5. Under the constitution the president and heads of departments are to make nominations for office; the senate is to advise and consent to appointments and the house of representatives is to accuse and prosecute faithless officers. The best interest of the public service demands that these distinctions be respected; that senators and representatives who may be judges and accusers should not dictate appointments to office. The invariable rule in appointments should have reference to the honesty, fidelity, and capacity of the appointees, giving to the party in power those places where harmony and vigor of administration require its policy to be represented, but permitting all others to be filled by persons selected with sole reference to efficiency of the public service and the right of all citizens to share in the honor of rendering faithful service to the country.

6. We rejoice in the quickened conscience of the people concerning political affairs, and will hold all public officers to a rigid responsibility, and engage that the prosecution and punishment of all who betray official trusts shall be swift, thorough and unsparing.

7. The public school system of the several States is the bulwark of the American republic, and with a view to its security and permanence we recommend an amendment to the constitution of the United States forbidding the application of any public funds or property for the benefit of any schools or institution under sectarian control.

8. The revenue necessary for current expenditures and the obligations of the public debt must be largely derived from duties upon importations, which,

so far as possible, should be adjusted to promote the interests of American labor and advance the prosperity of the whole country.

9. We reaffirm our opposition to further grants of the public lands to corporations and monopolies, and demand that the national domain be devoted to free homes for the people.

10. It is the imperative duty of the government so to modify existing treaties with European governments that the same protection shall be afforded to the adopted American citizen that is given to the native born; and that all necessary laws should be passed to protect emigrants in the absence of power in the States for that purpose.

11. It is the immediate duty of congress to fully investigate the effect of the immigration and importation of Mongolians upon the moral and material interests of the country.

12. The Republican party recognizes with approval the substantial advances recently made toward the establishment of equal rights for women by the many important amendments effected by Republican legislatures in the laws which concern the personal and property relations of wives, mothers and widows and by the appointment and election of women to the superintendence of education, charities and other public trusts. The honest demands of this class of citizens for additional rights, privileges and immunities should be treated with respectful consideration.

13. The constitution confers upon congress sovereign power over the Territories of the United States for their government, and in the exercise of this power it is the right and duty of congress to prohibit and extirpate, in the Territories, that relic of barbarism—polygamy, and we demand such legislation as shall secure this end and the supremacy of American institutions in all of the Territories.

14. The pledges which the nation has given to her soldiers and sailors must be fulfilled, and a grateful people will always hold those who imperiled their lives for the country's preservation in the kindest remembrance.

15. We sincerely deprecate all sectional feeling and tendencies. We therefore note with deep solicitude that the Democratic party counts, as its chief hope of success, on the electoral vote of a united South, secured through the efforts of those who were recently arrayed against the nation, and we invoke the earnest attention of the country to the grave truth that a success thus achieved would reopen sectional strife and imperil national honor and human rights.

16. We charge the Democratic party with being the same in character and spirit as when it sympathized with treason; with making its control of the house of representatives the triumph and opportunity of the nation's recent foes; with reasserting and applauding in the national capital the sentiments of unrepentant rebellion; with sending Union soldiers to the rear, and promoting Confederate soldiers to the front; with deliberately proposing to repudiate the plighted faith of the government; with being equally false and imbecile upon the overshadowing financial questions; with thwarting the ends of justice by its partisan mismanagement and obstruction of investigation; with proving itself, through the period of its ascendancy in the lower house the of congress, utterly incompetent to administer the government; and we warn country against trusting a party thus alike unworthy, recreant and incapable.

17. The national administration merits commendation for its honorable work in the management of domestic and foreign affairs, and president Grant deserves the continued hearty gratitude of the American people for his patriotism and his eminent services in war and in peace.

Edward L. Pierce of Massachusetts moved to strike out the eleventh resolution, which motion, after debate, was rejected upon a roll call by States by yeas, 215; nays, 532. The delegations from the States of California, Colorado, Florida, Kansas, Minnesota, Nebraska,

Nevada, New Jersey, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Texas, Virginia and Wisconsin, and the Territories (except Montana) voting solidly in the negative. The eleventh resolution was then agreed to. Edmund J. Davis of Texas submitted a minority report from the committee on resolutions (signed by himself) proposing to strike out the fourth resolution and insert in lieu thereof the following—viz:

Resolved, That it is the duty of congress to provide for carrying out the act known as the resumption act of congress, to the end that the resumption of specie payments may not be longer delayed.

The substitute was rejected without division, the fourth resolution agreed to, and the platform adopted as reported.

The roll of States was then called for the nomination of candidates for president. When Connecticut was reached Stephen W. Kellogg of that State presented the name of Marshall Jewell; Richard W. Thompson of Indiana, that of Oliver P. Morton; John W. Harlan of Kentucky, that of Benjamin H. Bristow; Robert G. Ingersoll of Illinois, that of James G. Blaine; Stewart L. Woodford of New York, that of Roscoe Conkling; Edward F. Noyes of Ohio, that of Rutherford B. Hayes, and Lem Bartholomew of Pennsylvania, that of John F. Hartranft. The convention then adjourned.

On the third day, Friday, June 16, 1876, the convention proceeded to ballot for a candidate for president with the following result, viz.:

	James G. Blaine, Maine	Benj. H. Bristow, Kentucky	Roscoe Conkling, New York	John F. Hartranft, Pennsylvania	Rutherford B. Hayes, Ohio	Marshall Jewell, Connecticut	Oliver P. Morton, Indiana	Elihu B. Washburne, Illinois	William A. Wheeler, New York
1	285	113	99	58	61	11	124	.....	3
2	296	114	93	63	64	.....	120	1	3
3	293	121	90	98	67	.....	113	1	2
4	292	126	84	71	68	.....	108	3	2
5	286	114	82	69	104	.....	95	3	3
6	308	111	81	50	113	.....	85	4	2
7	351	21	.....	.....	384	.....	.....	.....	.....

The convention then proceeded with the second ballot, no choice having been made on the first ballot.

When the State of Pennsylvania was called, its vote was announced as 58 for John F. Hartranft. The question of order was then raised by Mr. Futhey of Chester, that the announcement was incorrect, as himself and three colleagues desired to cast their votes for James G. Blaine. The president ruled that it was the right of any and every member of the convention to vote his sentiments in

the convention. Mr. McCormick of Pennsylvania appealed from the decision, and the question being put, the chair was sustained. The roll-call was then completed, at the end of which Mr. Thornburg of Tennessee moved to reconsider the vote sustaining the decision of the chair, and the roll being called thereon the vote was yeas 381, nays 359. So the vote was reconsidered, and after further debate the roll was again called on the question of sustaining the decision of the chair, resulting, yeas 395, nays 353. The president in announcing the result, stated that the convention, in sustaining his decision, had decided that it was the right of every individual member to vote his individual sentiments, and announced the result of the ballot as follows: Blaine, 296; Morton, 120; Conkling, 93; Bristow, 114; Hayes, 64; Hartranft, 63; Washburne, 1; Wheeler, 3.

A third ballot was then taken, resulting as follows: Blaine, 293; Bristow, 121; Conkling, 90; Hartranft, 68; Hayes, 67; Morton, 113; Wheeler, 2; Washburne, 1.

The fourth ballot being taken, resulted as follows: Blaine, 292; Bristow, 126; Conkling, 84; Hartranft, 71; Hayes, 68; Morton, 108; Wheeler, 2; Washburne, 3.

The fifth ballot resulted as follows: Blaine, 286; Bristow, 114; Conkling, 82; Hartranft, 69; Hayes, 104; Morton, 95; Wheeler, 2; Washburne, 3.

The sixth ballot resulted as follows, viz: Blaine, 308; Bristow, 111; Conkling, 81; Hartranft, 50; Hayes, 113; Morton, 85; Washburne, 4; Wheeler, 2.

The secretary then proceeded to call the roll on the seventh ballot. When Indiana was called Mr. Cumback withdrew the name of Oliver P. Morton and cast 25 votes for Rutherford B. Hayes and 5 votes for Benjamin H. Bristow.

When Kentucky was called Mr. Harlan withdrew the name of Benjamin H. Bristow and cast the entire vote of Kentucky for Mr. Hayes. Mr. Cumback of Indiana thereupon cast the five votes from that State previously given to Mr. Bristow for Mr. Hayes. A point of order that a change could not be made during a roll-call was sustained. Mr. Pomeroy of New York announced that that delegation cast sixty-one votes for Rutherford B. Hayes and nine votes for James G. Blaine. Mr. Cameron of Pennsylvania withdrew the name of John F. Hartranft and cast twenty-eight votes for Mr. Hayes and thirty votes for Mr. Blaine, the result being as follows—viz:

STATES.	Hayes.	Blaine.	Bristow.
Alabama	....	17	3
Arkansas	....	11	....
California	6	6	....
Colorado	....	6	....
Connecticut	3	2	7
Deleware	....	6	....
Florida	....	8	....

STATES.	Hayes.	Blaine.	Bristow.
Georgia	7	14	1
Illinois	2	35	5
Indiana	25	....	5
Iowa	....	22	....
Kansas	....	10	....
Kentucky	24	....	....
Louisiana	2	14	....
Maine	....	14	....
Maryland	....	16	....
Massachusetts	21	5	....
Michigan	22	....	....
Minnesota	1	9	....
Mississippi	16	....	....
Missouri	10	20	....
Nebraska	....	6	....
Nevada	6	....	....
New Hampshire	3	7	....
New Jersey	6	12	....
New York	61	9	....
North Carolina	20	....	....
Ohio	44	....	....
Oregon	....	6	....
Pennsylvania	28	30	....
Rhode Island	6	2	....
South Carolina	7	7	....
Tennessee	18	6	....
Texas	15	1	....
Vermont	10	....	....
Virginia	8	14	....
West Virginia	4	6	....
Wisconsin	4	16	....
Territories	14	4	....
Total	381	351	21

The delegates from the Territories cast their votes for Mr. Blaine, excepting those from Montana and Wyoming, which were cast for Mr. Hayes.

The chair having announced the result and stated the question to be on making the nomination unanimous, Mr. Frye of Maine seconded that motion and it was unanimously carried.

Nominations for vice-president were then made as follows: William A. Wheeler of New York, by Mr. Poland of Vermont; Stewart L. Woodford of New York, by Mr. Platt of New York; Joseph R. Hawley of Connecticut, by Mr. Harlan of Kentucky; Frederick T. Frelinghuysen of New Jersey, by Mr. Pitney of New Jersey; Marshall Jewell of Connecticut, by Mr. Russell of Texas. Mr. Woodford of New York withdrew his name and the roll was called. When the State of North Carolina was called (which cast 12 votes for Mr. Wheeler) the vote stood as follows: Wheeler, 366; Frelinghuysen, 89; Jewell, 86; Woodford, 70, and Hawley, 25. Mr. Kellogg by consent withdrew the name of Mr. Jewell and moved to suspend the rules so as to nominate Mr. Wheeler of New York by acclamation,

which motion was carried, and Mr. Wheeler was declared by the chair the nominee for vice-president. After adding an additional resolution (indorsing the nominee) to the platform and appointing a National committee and a committee of one from each State to wait upon the candidates and give them formal notice of their nomination, the convention adjourned.

The result of the popular and Electoral vote is as follows:

STATES.	POPULAR.		ELECTORAL.	
	S. J. TILDEN, Dem.	R. B. HAYES, Rep.	S. J. Tilden, Dem.	R. B. Hayes, Rep.
Alabama	102,002	68,230	10	.....
Arkansas	58,071	38,669	6	.....
California	76,465	79,267	.....	6
†Colorado	.....	.....	.....	3
Connecticut	61,934	59,034	6	.....
Delaware	13,381	10,752	3	.....
*Florida	22,923	23,849	.....	4
Georgia	130,088	50,446	11	.....
Illinois	258,601	278,232	.....	21
Indiana	213,526	208,011	15	.....
Iowa	112,099	121,327	.....	11
Kansas	37,992	78,322	.....	5
Kentucky	159,690	97,156	12	.....
*Louisiana	70,508	75,135	.....	8
Maine	49,823	66,300	.....	7
Maryland	91,780	71,981	8	.....
Massachusetts	108,777	150,063	.....	13
Michigan	141,095	166,534	.....	11
Minnesota	48,799	72,962	.....	5
Mississippi	112,173	52,605	8	.....
Missouri	203,077	145,029	15	.....
Nebraska	17,554	31,916	.....	3
Nevada	9,308	10,383	.....	3
New Hampshire	38,509	41,539	.....	5
New Jersey	115,961	103,517	9	.....
New York	521,949	489,207	35	.....
North Carolina	125,427	108,417	10	.....
Ohio	323,182	330,698	.....	22
*Oregon	14,149	15,206	.....	3
Pennsylvania	366,158	384,122	.....	29
Rhode Island	10,712	15,787	.....	4
*South Carolina	90,906	91,870	.....	7
Tennessee	133,166	89,566	12	.....
Texas	104,755	44,800	8	.....
Vermont	20,254	44,092	.....	5
Virginia	139,670	95,558	11	.....
West Virginia	56,455	42,698	5	.....
Wisconsin	123,927	130,668	.....	10
Total	4,284,757	4,033,950	184	185

† Electors chosen by legislature. * Peter Cooper, Greenbacker, received 81,740 votes, and 12,158 scattering.

From Florida 2 sets of certificates were received; from Louisiana,

3; from Oregon, 2; and from South Carolina, 2. They were referred to the electoral commission, formed under the act of Jan. 29, 1877, and the commission decided in favor of counting the electoral vote as given in the above table. As a matter of interest and pertinent to this election, it may be stated that the said act provided that the commission should consist of five senators, five representatives and five justices of the supreme court, the senators and representatives to be chosen respectively by the senate and the house of representatives. The senate chose Senators George F. Edmunds, Oliver P. Morton, and Frederick T. Frelinghuysen, Republicans, and Allen G. Thurman and Thomas F. Bayard, Democrats. The house of representatives chose Messrs. Henry B. Payne, Eppa Hunton, and Josiah G. Abbott, Democrats, and James A. Garfield and George F. Hoar, Republicans. The four justices of the supreme court designated by the act were Justices Nathan Clifford, William Strong, Samuel F. Miller and Stephen J. Field. Messrs. Clifford and Field were Democrats and Strong and Miller Republicans, and they selected Justice Joseph Bradley, Republican, as the fifth member of the commission on the part of the supreme court.

By the act double returns and all returns to which objections should be made, were to be referred to the commission, whose decision was to be final unless reversed by the vote of both houses. The general rule held by the commission was that it was only empowered to canvass electoral votes, not popular votes, and to decide whether the governor had certified those electors who had been declared elected by the canvassing authority of the State. It thus ascertained that in Louisiana the governor had certified the legitimate electors, while in Oregon the governor had not. In all these cases the house voted to reject and the senate to sustain the commission's decision, and the decision was therefore sustained in favor of the Republican electors. In the case of South Carolina and in those of electors objected to as federal officeholders the commission decided in favor of the Republican electors, and the decision was not reversed by concurrent vote of the two houses of congress. All the 20 doubtful votes (Florida 4, Louisiana 8, Oregon 1, and South Carolina 7), thus fell to the Republican candidates, and the result was declared to be 185 for Hayes and Wheeler and 184 votes for Tilden and Hendricks.

In the case of the South Carolina contest, the commission voted unanimously that the Tilden electors were not the true electors from that State, and, by a vote of 8 to 7, that the Hayes electors were.

The count proceeded under the law in the alphabetical order of States, commencing March 1, 1877, and a final vote was not reached until March 2, at 4 o'clock a. m., when the result was announced by Mr. Allison of Iowa, one of the tellers on the part of the Senate.

THE SEVENTH CONVENTION.

At Chicago, Ill., June 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 8, 1880—Garfield and Arthur.

The Seventh national convention of the Republican party was called to order in Exhibition Hall, Chicago, at 12 o'clock m., Wednesday, June 2, 1880, by the Hon. J. Donald Cameron, chairman of the Republican national committee, who stated that he had been instructed to place in nomination as temporary chairman the Hon. George F. Hoar of Massachusetts, which nomination was unanimously agreed to, John H. Roberts of Illinois and C. E. Magee of Pennsylvania being made temporary secretaries. A resolution submitted by Mr. Hale of Maine for a call of the roll, on which the chairman of each delegation should announce the names of persons to serve on the committees on permanent organization, rules and order of business, credentials and resolutions, was adopted, and those committees formed, after which, at 3 o'clock and 5 minutes p. m., the convention adjourned until 11 o'clock the following morning.

Second Day, Thursday, June 3, 1880.

A motion made by Mr. Conkling for a recess was rejected, after which Mr. Pierson, of New York from the committee on permanent organization, submitted a report proposing that the temporary organization be made permanent, with a vice-president and assistant secretary from each State and Territory, which report was adopted. The convention, on motion of Mr. Frye of Maine, at 1 P.M. took a recess until 5 P.M.

After the recess Mr. Henderson of Iowa moved that the committee on rules be directed now to report, to which Mr. Sharpe of New York offered a substitute directing the committee on credentials to now report. The substitute was rejected and a roll-call by yeas 318, nays 406, after which the original resolution was laid on the table. The convention met at 7 o'clock and after thirty minutes adjourned until the following morning at 10 o'clock.

Thursday, June 4, 1880, 10 A. M.

Mr. Conkling submitted the following resolution, viz.:

Resolved, As the sense of this convention that every member of it is bound in honor to support its nominee, whoever that nominee may be; and that no man shall hold a seat here who is not ready to so agree.

The roll of States was called, resulting, yeas, 716; nays, 3 (the three negative votes being cast by West Virginia delegates).

Mr. Conkling thereupon offered another resolution declaring that the delegates who had voted that they would not abide the action of the convention do not deserve and have forfeited their votes in the convention, which resolution he subsequently withdrew after a spirited debate. Mr. Sewell of New Jersey moved that the committee on rules be instructed to report, which motion was agreed to, and Mr. Garfield submitted the following rules and order of business, viz.:

Rule 1. The convention shall consist of a number of delegates from each State equal to double the number of its senators and representatives in congress, and two delegates from each Territory and two from the District of Columbia.

Rule 2. The rules of the house of representatives shall be the rules of the convention so far as they are applicable and not inconsistent with the followimg rules.

Rule 3. When the previous question shall be demanded by a majority of the delegates from any State, and the demand seconded by two or more States, and the call sustained by a majority of the convention, the question shall then be proceeded with and disposed of according to the rules of the house of representatives in similar cases.

Rule 4. Upon all subjects before the convention the States shall be called in alphabetical order, and next the Territories and District of Columbia.

Rule 5. The report of the committee on credentials shall be disposed of before the report of the committee on resolutions is acted upon, and the report of the committee on resolutions shall be disposed of before the convention proceeds to the nomination of candidates for president and vice-president.

Rule 6. When a majority of the delegates of any two States shall demand that a vote be recorded the same shall be taken by States, Territories, and the District of Columbia, the secretary calling the roll of the States and Territories and the District of Columbia in the order heretofore stated.

Rule 7. In making the nominations for president and vice-president in no case shall the call of the roll be dispensed with. When it shall appear that any candidate has received a majority of the votes cast the president of the convention shall announce the question to be: "Shall the nomination of the candidate be made unanimous?" But if no candidate shall have received a majority of the votes the chair shall direct the vote to be again taken, which shall be repeated until some candidate shall have received a majority of the votes cast; and when any State has announced its vote it shall so stand until the ballot is announced, unless in case of numerical error.

Rule 8. In the record of the votes by States the vote of each State, Territory, and District of Columbia shall be announced by the chairman; and in case the vote of any State, Territory, or District of Columbia shall be divided the chairman shall announce the number of votes cast for any candidate, or for or against any proposition; but if exception is taken by any delegate to the correctness of such announcement by the chairman of his delegation the president of the convention shall direct the roll of members of such delegation to be called, and the result shall be recorded in accordance with the votes individually given.

Rule 9. No member shall speak more than once upon the same question, nor longer than five minutes, unless by leave of the convention, except that delegates presenting the name of a candidate shall be allowed ten minntes in presenting the name of such candidate.

Rule 10. A Republican National committee shall be appointed, to consist of one member from each State, Territory, and the District of Columbia represented in this convention. The roll shall be called, and the delegation from each State, Territory, and the District of Columbia shall name, through their chairman, a person to act as member of such committee.

Rule 11. All resolutions relating to the platform shall be referred to the committee on resolutions without debate.

Mr. Sharpe of New York submitted a minority report signed by himself and Messrs. Thanasson of Alabama, Johnson of Arkansas, Dean of Florida, Hunter of Kentucky, Carter of Mississippi, Rogers of Missouri, Curdell of Tennessee, Watkins of Virginia, Metcalf of Illinois and McGune of Colorado, submitting the following as a substitute for proposed rule 8, viz.:

In the record of votes by States, the vote of each State, Territory, and the District of Columbia shall be announced by the chairman; and in case the votes of any State, Territory, or the District of Columbia shall be divided, the chairman shall announce the number of votes cast for any candidate or for or against any proposition.

The report was laid over to receive the report of the committee on credentials made by Mr. Conger of Michigan. The committee made a long report on the contests from Louisiana, Alabama, Illinois, Kansas, Pennsylvania, West Virginia and Utah.

Mr. Clayton of Arkansas submitted a minority report signed by himself and Messrs. Tracy of New York, Flanagan of Texas, Raum of Illinois, Hooper of Maryland, Heyman of Alabama, Clark of Colorado, Stall of Kentucky, Havens of Missouri, Thornburg of Tennessee, Cessna of Pennsylvania, Tompkins of Virginia, Troft of South Carolina and Lee of Florida, there being also additional dissenting views on the Utah and West Virginia cases. After a long debate, principally as to details of voting, on motion of Mr. Sharpe of New York, all that portion of the report relating to the seats of the delegates-at-large from Illinois was stricken out. That portion of the report unanimously presented by the committee was then agreed to. The convention then took up the Alabama contest, and at 4:15 P. M. took a recess until 7 P. M.

After the recess the Alabama case was taken up, and a resolution submitted by Mr. Harrison of Indiana, limiting debate, agreed to. At the close of the debate the roll was called, and by yeas 306, nays 449, the substituted report by the minority was rejected, and the report of the committee then adopted.

The convention then proceeded to consider the Illinois case, the chair ruling out of order a substitute submitted by Mr. Boutwell of Massachusetts to the effect that State usage as to the election of delegates shall be deemed binding on this convention. After a lengthy debate a motion made by Mr. Butterworth (at 1 o'clock A. M.) to adjourn was defeated on a roll-call by, yeas, 103; nays 653. An amendment offered by Mr. Clayton of Arkansas as a substitute for so much of the committee report as relates to the First District of Illinois was rejected by, yeas, 353; nays, 387, and the committee report adopted on a roll-call by, yeas, 384; nays, 356. The convention then voted on the report of the committee as to the Third District of Illinois and it was adopted (on roll-call) by, yeas, 385; nays, 353. Another roll-call as to the Fourth Illinois District sustained the committee by, yeas, 388; nays, 351. The remainder of the report as to Illinois was then agreed to without division, and at 2 o'clock and 20 minutes A. M. (Saturday) the convention adjourned to meet at 11 o'clock A. M.

Fourth Day, Saturday, June 5, 1880, 11 A. M.

The report of the committee on credentials on the Kansas case

was then taken up, and the committee sustained by, yeas, 476; nays, 184. The West Virginia case was then taken up, and after debate, so much of the minority report as related thereto, for the committee's report, was agreed to by, yeas, 417; nays, 330.

The Utah case was then taken up, and the minority substitute agreed to by, yeas, 426; nays, 312. The report as amended was then agreed to, and the convention took up the report of the committee on rules. The question being on the substitute offered by Mr. Sharpe of New York, for rule 8. Mr. Sharpe, pending that, offered the following as a further substitute, viz.:

Resolved, That this convention will proceed immediately to ballot for candidates for president and vice-president of the United States, and that one speech of fifteen minutes be allowed for the presentation of each candidate, and ten minutes for one speech to second each nomination.

A point of order made by Mr. Garfield that the last substitute was not in order, as it related to another order of business, was overruled by the chair. Mr. Sharpe modified his resolution by adding the words "and that after such nominations are made such ballot will be taken by a roll-call of the States, Territories, and the District of Columbia."

The question was then taken on the second substitute (by roll call) and resulted, yeas, 276; nays, 479. The question being then taken on the substitute proposed in the minority report, it was rejected without division. Mr. Boutwell submitted an amendment adding to rule 10 the following words—viz:

"And said committee shall prescribe a method or methods for the election of delegates to the national convention to be held in 1884, announce the same to the country, and issue a call for that convention in conformity therewith."

On motion of Mr. Butterworth, of Ohio, that amendment was amended by adding the following proviso:

Provided, that such methods or rules shall include and secure to the several congressional districts in the United States the right to elect their own delegates to the national convention.

As thus amended Mr. Boutwell's amendment was agreed to and the report of the committee on rules as amended was then agreed to.

Mr. Pierrepont, of New York, from the committee on resolutions, then reported the following platform:

The Republican party, in national convention assembled, at the end of twenty years since the federal government was first committed to its charge, submits to the people of the United States this brief report of its administration: It suppressed a rebellion which had armed nearly a million of men to subvert the national authority. It reconstructed the Union of the States, with freedom instead of slavery as its corner stone. It transformed 4,000,000 human beings from the likeness of things to the rank of citizens. It relieved congress from the infamous work of hunting fugitive slaves and charged it to see that slavery does not exist. It has raised the value of our paper currency from 38 per cent. to the par value of gold. It has restored upon a solid basis payment in coin for all the national obligations, and has given us a cur-

rency absolutely good and equal in every part of our extended country. It has lifted the credit of the nation from the point where 6 per cent. bonds sold at 86 to that where 4 per cent. bonds are eagerly sought at a premium. Under its administration railroads have increased from 31,000 miles in 1860 to more than 80,000 in 1879. Our foreign trade has increased from $700,000,000 to $1,150,000,000 in the same time, and our exports, which were $20,000,000 less than our imports in 1860, were $264,000,000 more than our imports in 1879. Without resorting to loans it has since the war closed defrayed the ordinary expenses of government besides the accruing interest on the public debt, and disbursed annually more than $30,000,000 for soldiers' pensions. It has paid $888,000,000 of the public debt, and by refunding the balance at a lower rate has reduced the annual interest charge from nearly $151,000,000 to less than $89,000,000. All the industries of the country have revived, labor is in demand, wages have increased, and throughout the entire country there is evidence of a coming prosperity greater than we have ever enjoyed. Upon this record the Republican party asks for the continued confidence and support of the people, and this convention submits for their approval the following statement of the principles and purposes which will continue to guide and inspire its efforts:

1. We affirm that the work of the last twenty-one years has been such as to commend itself to the favor of the nation and that fruits of costly victories which we have achieved through immense difficulties should be preserved; that the peace so gained should be cherished; that the dissevered Union, now happily restored, should be perpetuated, and that the liberties secured to this generation should be transmitted undiminished to future generations; that the order established and the credit acquired should never be impaired; that the pension promises should be paid; that the debt so much reduced should be extinguished by the full payment of every dollar thereof; that the reviving industries should be further promoted and that the commerce, already so great, should be steadily encouraged.

2. The constitution of the United States is a supreme law and not a mere contract. Out of confederated States it made a sovereign nation. Some powers are denied the nation while others are denied the States. But the boundary between powers delegated and those reserved is to be determined by the national and not the State tribunals.

3. The work of popular education is one left to the care of the several States, but it is the duty of the national government to aid said work to the extent of its constitutional ability. The intelligence of the nation is but the aggregate intelligence of the several States, and the destiny of the nation must be guided not by the genius of any one State but by the average genius of all.

4. The constitution wisely forbids congress to make any law respecting the establishment of religion, but it is idle to hope that the nation can be protected against influence of sectarianism while each State is exposed to its domination. We therefore recommend that the constitution be so amended as to lay the same prohibition on the legislature of each State, and to forbid the appropriation of public funds to the support of sectarian schools.

5. We reaffirm the belief avowed in 1876 that the duties levied for the purpose of revenue should so discriminate as to favor American labor; that no further grant of the public domain should be made to any railroad or other corporation; that slavery having perished in the States, its twin barbarity, polygamy, must die in the Territories; that everywhere the protection accorded to a citizen of American birth must be secured to citizens of American adoption; that we esteem it the duty of congress to develop and improve our water courses and harbors, but insist that further subsidies to private persons or corporations must cease; that the obligations of the republic to the men who preserved its integrity in the day of battle are undiminished by the lapse of fifteen years since their final victory, and their perpetual honor is and shall forever be the grateful privileges and s a cred duty of the American people.

6. Since the authority for regular immigration and intercourse between the United States and foreign nations rests with the congress of the United States and its treaty-making powers, the Republican party, regarding the unrestricted immigration of the Chinese as an evil of great magnitude, invokes the exercise of that power to restrain and limit that immigration by the enactment of such just, humane and reasonable provisions as will produce that result.

7. That the purity and patriotism which characterized the earlier career of R. B. Hayes in peace and war, and which guided the thought of our immediate predecessors to him for a presidential candidate, have continued to inspire him in his career as chief executive, and that history will accord to his administration the honors which are due to an efficient, just and courteous discharge of the public business, and will honor his interpositions between the people and proposed partisan laws.

8. We charge upon the Democratic party the habitual sacrifice of patriotism and justice to a supreme and insatiable lust of office and patronage; that to obtain possession of the national government and State Gouernments and the control of place, they have obstructed all efforts to promote the purity and to conserve the freedom of suffrage; have labored to unseat lawfully elected members of congress to secure at all hazards the majority of the States in the house of representatives; have endeavored to occupy by force and fraud the places of trust given to others by the people of Maine and rescued by the courage and action of Maine's patriotic sons; have, by methods vicious in principle and tyrannical in practice, attached partisan legislation to appropriations, upon whose passage the very movements of the government depend; have crushed the rights of the individual, have advocated the principles and sought the favor of rebellion against the nation and have endeavored to obliterate the sacred memories of the war and to overcome its inestimably good results of nationality, personal freedom and individual equality. The equal, steady and complete enforcement of the laws and the protection of all our citizens in the enjoyment of all privileges and immunities guaranteed by the constitution is the first duty of the nation. The dangers of a solid South can only be averted by a faithful performance of every promise which the nation has made to its citizens. The execution of the laws and the punishment of all those who violate them are the only safe methods by which an enduring peace can be secured and genuine prosperity established throughout the South. Whatever promises the nation makes the nation must perform, and the nation cannot with safety relegate this duty to the States. The solid South must be divided by the peaceful agencies of the ballot, and all opinions must there find free expression; and to this end the honest voter must be protected against terrorism, violence or fraud. And we affirm it to be the duty and purpose of the Republican party to use all legitimate means to restore all States of this Union to the most perfect harmony that may be possible. And we submit to the practical, sensible people of the United States to say whether it would not be dangerous to the dearest interests of our country at this time to surrender the control of the national government to a party which seeks to overthrow the existing policy, under which we are so prosperous, and thus bring distrust and confusion where there is now order, confidence and hope.

The Republican party, adhering to the principle affirmed by its last national convention, of respect for the constitutional rules governing appointments to office, adopts the declaration of President Hayes, that the reform of the civil service should be thorough, radical and complete. To this end it demands the co-operation of the legislative with the executive department of the government, and that congress shall so legislate that fitness, ascertained by proper practical tests, shall admit to the public service.

Mr. Booker of Massachusetts submitted an amendment, adding the following clause:

The Republican party, adhering to the principle affirmed by its last national convention, of respect for the constitutional rules governing appointments to office, adopted the declaration of President Hayes, that the reform of the civil service should be thorough, radical and complete, To this end it demanded the co-operation of the legislative with the executive department of the government, that congress shall so legislate that fitness, ascertained by proper practical tests, shall admit to the public service.

The amendment was agreed to, and the resolution as amended agreed to.

A recess (at 5.25 o'clock p. m.) was then taken until 7 p. m. After the recess the roll of States was called and the national committee selected, and on motion of Mr. Frye of Maine, the roll of States was called in alphabetical order for nominations for a candidate for president. Names of candidates were then presented, as follows: James G. Blaine of Maine, by James F. Joy of Michigan; William Windom of Minnesota, by E. F. Drake of that State; Ulysses S. Grant, "from Appomattox and its famous apple tree," by Roscoe Conkling of New York; John Sherman of Ohio. by James A. Garfield of that State; George F. Edmunds of Vermont, by Frederick Billings of that State; Elihu B. Washburne of Illinois, by J. B. Cassaday of Wisconsin. The nomination of Mr. Blaine was seconded by Messrs. Pixley of California, Frye of Maine; that of Gen. Grant by Mr. Bradley of Kentucky; that of Mr. Sherman by Mr. Winckler of Wisconsin, and Mr. Elliott of South Carolina; that of Mr. Edmunds by Mr. Sanford of Massachusetts, and that of Mr. Washburne by Mr. Brandagee of Connecticut.

The convention then (11.46 p. m.) adjourned to Monday at 10 a. m.

Fifth Day, Monday, June 7, 1880, 10 a. m.

On motion of Mr. Hale of Maine the convention proceeded to ballot for a candidate for President, resulting as follows:

States.	Number of Delegates.	Grant.	Blaine.	Sherman.	Edmunds.
Alabama	20	16	1	3	.....
Arkansas	12	12	.....	.....	.....
California	12	.....	12	.....	.....
Colorado	6	6	.....	.....	.....
Connecticut	12	.....	3	.....	2
Delaware	6	.....	6	.....	.....
Florida	8	8	.....	.....	.....
Georgia	22	6	8	8	.....
Illinois	42	24	10	.....	.....
Indiana	30	1	26	2	.....
Iowa	22	.....	22	.....	.....
Kansas	10	4	6	.....	.....
Kentucky	24	20	1	3	.....
Louisiana	16	8	2	6	.....
Maine	14	.....	14	.....	.....
Maryland	16	7	7	2	.....

STATES.	Number of Delegates.	Grant.	Blaine.	Sherman.	Edmunds.
Massachusetts	26	3	.....	2	20
Michigan	22	1	21	.....	.....
Minnesota	10	.....	.....	.....	.....
Mississippi	16	6	4	6	.....
Missouri	30	29	.....	.....	.....
Nebraska	6	.....	6	.....	.....
Nevada	6	.....	6	.....	.....
New Hampshire	10	.....	10	.....	.....
New Jersey	18	.....	16	.....	.....
New York	70	51	17	2	.....
North Carolina	20	6	.....	14	.....
Ohio	44	.....	9	34	1
Oregon	6	.....	6	.....	.....
Pennsylvania	58	32	23	3	.....
Rhode Island	8	.....	8	.....	.....
South Carolina	14	13	.....	1	.....
Tennessee	24	16	6	1	1
Texas	16	11	2	2	.....
Vermont	10	.....	.....	.....	10
Virginia	22	18	3	1	.....
West Virginia	10	1	8	.....	.....
Wisconsin	20	1	7	3	.....
Total	756	304	284	93	34

Minnesota cast its ten votes for Mr. Windom; Mr. Washburne received 7 votes from Connecticut, 8 from Illinois, 1 from Indiana, 1 from Massachusetts, 1 from Maine, 2 from New Jersey, 1 from Texas, and 9 from Wisconsin. Gen. Grant received 1 vote from the Territories of Dakota, Utah, Wyoming, and the District of Columbia, and Mr. Blaine 1 vote from Dakota, Wyoming, and District of Columbia, and 2 votes each from Idaho, Montana, New Mexico, and Washington.

During the roll call the chair ruled that nothing could interfere with the roll call, and that at its conclusion, any question raised regarding it could be settled by the convention.

During the day, twenty-seven additional ballots were taken without material change. Gen. Grant led with 304 votes and his vote fluctuated between 302 and 309. Mr. Blaine was next with 284, his number varying from 285 to 275. Mr. Sherman started with 93 and ended with 91, having dropped to 88 and risen to 97. Mr. Washburne had 31 at the start, raised to 36, and finished with 35. Senator Edmunds had 33 on the first, lost one on the second and one on the eighth ballot, and finished with 31. Senator Windom started and finished with 10 votes. Gen. Garfield received one vote on the second, third, fourth, fifth, sixth, twelfth, thirteenth, nineteenth, twenty-first, and twenty-second ballots (from Pennsylvania), two votes on the sixth, seventh, ninth, tenth, eleventh, twenty-third, twenty-fourth, and twenty-fifth ballots, and none on the

fourteenth, fifteenth, sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth ballots. Scattering votes were also cast for Rutherford B. Hayes of Ohio, George W. McCreary of Iowa, E. J. Davis of Texas, John F. Hartranft of Pennsylvania.

And then (at 9 o'clock and 50 minutes P. M.) on motion of Mr. Lovering of Massachusetts, the convention, after roll call thereon) by yeas 446, nays 304, adjourned to meet at 10 A. M. the following day.

Sixth Day, Tuesday, June 8, 1880, 10 A. M.

The convention proceeded at once to balloting, the twenty-ninth resulting in some changes. Twenty votes previously given to Mr. Edmunds were transferred to Mr. Sherman, which, with others, gave him 120 on the thirtieth ballot. On the thirty-fourth ballot the Wisconsin delegation cast its vote (18) for Gen. Garfield, and on the thirty-fifth ballot he received 27 votes from Indiana, four from Maryland, and one each from the States of Mississippi and North Carolina, making 50 in all, the additional votes being given by Mr. Blaine's supporters.

The thirty-sixth and final ballot resulted as follows—viz.:

STATES.	Number of delegates.	Garfield.	Grant.	Blaine.
Alabama	20	.....	16	4
Arkansas	12	.....	12	.....
California	12	.....	.....	12
Colorado	6	.....	6	.....
Connecticut	12	11	.....	1
Delaware	6	.....	.....	6
Florida	8	.....	8	.....
Georgia	22	1	8	10
Illinois	42	7	24	6
Indiana	30	29	1	.....
Iowa	22	22	.....	.....
Kansas	10	6	4	.....
Kentucky	24	3	20	1
Louisiana	16	8	8	.....
Maine	14	14	.....	.....
Maryland	16	10	6	.....
Massachusetts	26	22	4	.....
Michigan	22	21	1	.....
Minnesota	10	8	2	.....
Mississippi	16	9	7	.....
Missouri	30	1	29	.....
Nebraska	6	6	.....	.....
Nevada	6	3	2	1
New Hampshire	10	10	.....	.....
New Jersey	18	18	.....	.....
New York	70	20	50	.....
North Carolina	20	15	5	.....
Ohio	44	43	.....	.....
Oregon	6	6	.....	.....
Pennsylvania	58	21	37	.....
Rhode Island	8	8	.....	.....

STATES.	Number of Delegates.	Garfield.	Grant.	Blaine.
South Carolina	14	6	8	.....
Tennessee	24	8	15	1
Texas	16	3	13	.....
Vermont	10	10	.....	.....
Virginia	22	3	19	.....
West Virginia	10	9	1	.....
Wisconsin	20	20	.....	.....
Total	756	399	306	42

Mr. Sherman received 3 votes from Georgia and Mr. Washburne 5 from Illinois, all the Territories and the District of Columbia (18 votes) voting for Garfield.

The president announced that James A. Garfield had received 399; Ulysses S. Grant, 306; James G. Blaine, 42; Elihu B. Washburne, 5, and John Sherman, 3, and that James A. Garfield of Ohio, having received a majority, was the nominee of the convention for president.

The chair having put the question: Shall the nomination be made unanimous? Mr. Conkling made that motion and spoke in support of it, as did Messrs. Logan of Illinois, Beaver of Pennsylvania, Hale of Maine, Pleasants of Virginia, Campbell of West Virginia, Hicks of Florida, Norton of Texas, Foster of Ohio, Houck of Tennessee, Harrison of Indiana after which the motion was unanimously agreed to.

The convention then (at 2:25 P. M.), on motion of Mr. Harrison, of Indiana, took a recess until 5 P. M.

After the Recess.

The convention then proceeded to make nominations for a candidate for vice-president, and names were presented as follows, viz.: Elihu B. Washburne of Illinois, by Mr. Pixley of California; Marshall Jewell of Connecticut, by Mr. Robinson of that State; Thomas Settle of North Carolina, by Mr. Hicks of Florida; Horace Maynard of Tennessee, by Mr. Houck of that State; Chester A. Arthur, of New York, by Mr. Woodford of that State; Edmund J. Davis of Texas, by Mr. Chambers of that State. Several speeches were made seconding the various nominations, after which the roll of States and Territories was called, resulting as follows:

STATES.	Arthur.	Washburne.	Jewell.	Maynard.
Alabama	18	.....	2	.....
Arkansas	12	.....	.....	.....
California	.....	12	.....	.....
Colorado	6	.....	.....	.....
Connecticut	.....	.....	12	.....
Delaware	6	.....	.....	.....
Florida	8	.....	.....	.....
Georgia	22	.....	.....	.....

STATES.	Arthur.	Washburne	Jewell.	Maynard.
Illinois	24	18	.....	.....
Indiana	5	11	5	4
Iowa	.....	23	.....	.....
Kansas	10	.....	.....	.....
Kentucky	24	.....	.....	.....
Louisiana	10	.....	.....	.....
Maine	.....	.....	14	.....
Maryland	16	.....	.....	.....
Massachusetts	2	22	1	.....
Michigan	6	14	.....	.....
Minnesota	8	2	.....	.....
Mississippi	11	.....	1	.....
Missouri	30	.....	.....	.....
Nebraska	.....	6	.....	.....
Nevada	.....	6	.....	.....
New Hampshire	3	3	4	.....
New Jersey	3	14	1	.....
New York	60	1	.....	.....
North Carolina	20	.....	.....	.....
Ohio	42	2	.....	.....
Oregon	6	.....	.....	.....
Pennsylvania	47	11	.....	.....
Rhode Island	.....	8	.....	.....
South Carolina	14	.....	.....	.....
Tennessee	.....	.....	.....	24
Texas	9	5	.....	.....
Vermont	4	5	.....	1
Virginia	19	2	1	.....
West Virginia	1	9	.....	.....
Wisconsin	2	16	.....	1

Mr. Bruce, of Mississippi, received 2 votes from Indiana, 4 from Louisiana, 1 from Michigan and 1 from Wisconsin; Mr. Alcorn of Mississippi, 4 from that State; Mr. Davis of Texas, 2 from Louisiana; Mr. Woodford of New York, 1 from Indiana, and Mr. Settle of North Carolina, 1 vote from Indiana. The vote of the Territories was divided as follows: 11 votes for Mr. Arthur, 4 for Mr. Washburne, and 1 vote for Mr. Jewell.

The chair announced, as a result of the vote, that—

Chester A. Arthur had received 468 votes, Elihu B. Washburne had received 193 votes, Marshall Jewell had received 44 votes, Horace Maynard had recaived 30 votes, B. K. Bruce had reeeived 8 votes, J. L. Alcorn had received 4 votes, E. J. Davis had received 3 votes, and Thomas Settle and Stewart L. Woodford had each received one vote

On motion of Mr. McBeth of Missouri, the nomination of Mr. Arthur was made unanimous.

On motion a committee consisting of one delegate from each State was appointed by the chair to notify the nominees of the con-

vention of their nominations for the offices of president and vice-president.

The convention then on motion adjourned sine die.

The popular and electoral vote cast in 1880 is as follows:

POPULAR AND ELECTORAL VOTE OF 1880.

STATES.	POPULAR.			ELECTORAL.		
	Garfield, Republican.	Hancock, Democrat.	Weaver, Greenback.	Garfield.	Hancock.	Total.
Alabama	56,178	90,687	4,642	.....	10	10
Arkansas	41,661	60,489	4,079	.....	6	6
California	80,348	80,426	3,392	1	5	6
Colorado	27,450	24,647	1,435	3	.....	3
Connecticut	67,073	64,417	868	6	.....	6
Delaware	14,150	15,183	.....	.....	3	3
Florida	23,694	27,964	.....	.....	4	4
Georgia	52,658	102,522	481	.....	11	11
Illinois	318,037	277,321	25,358	21	.....	21
Indiana	223,164	225,528	12,986	15	.....	15
Iowa	183,904	105,845	32,327	11	.....	11
Kansas	121,520	59,789	19,710	5	.....	5
Kentucky	104,550	147,999	11,498	.....	12	12
Louisiana	37,994	65,310	439	.....	8	8
Maine	74,039	65,171	4,403	7	.....	7
Maryland	78,515	93,706	818	.....	8	8
Massachusetts	105,205	111,960	4,548	13	.....	13
Michigan	185,190	131,300	34,795	11	.....	11
Minnesota	93,903	53,315	3,267	5	.....	5
Mississippi	34,854	75,750	5,797	.....	8	8
Missouri	153,566	208,609	35,045	.....	15	15
Nebraska	54,959	28,523	3,853	3	.....	3
Nevada	8,732	9,611	.....	.....	3	3
New Hampshire	44,852	40,794	528	5	.....	5
New Jersey	120,555	122,565	2,617	.....	9	9
New York	555,544	534,511	12,373	35	.....	35
North Carolina	115,878	124,204	1,136	.....	10	10
Ohio	375,048	340,821	6,456	22	.....	22
Oregon	20,619	19,948	249	3	.....	3
Pennsylvrnia	444,704	407,428	20,668	29	.....	29
Rhode Island	18,198	10,779	236	4	.....	4
South Carolina	58,071	112,312	566	.....	7	7
Tennessee	107,717	128,191	5,916	.....	12	12
Texas	57,815	156,228	27,405	.....	8	8
Vermont	45,090	18,181	1,212	5	.....	5
Virginia	84,020	127,976	139	.....	11	11
West Virginia	46,243	57,391	9,079	.....	5	5
Wisconsin	144,397	114,634	7,080	10	.....	10
Totals	4,449,053	4,442,035	307,306	214	155	369

EIGHTH NATIONAL CONVENTION.

At Chicago, Ill., June 3, 4, 5, 6, 1884—Blaine and Logan.

The eighth national convention of the Republican party was called to order on June 3, 1884, at 12 o'clock M., by the Hon.

Dwight M. Sabin, chairman of the national committee, who proposed the name of Powell Clayton of Arkansas as temporary chairman.

Mr. Henry Cabot Lodge of Massachusetts, moved to substitute the name of John R. Lynch of Mississippi. After a long debate the roll of individual delegations was ordered called by chairman Sabin, following the ruling of chairman Hoar in the last preceding convention, "that in the absence of rules the method of taking the question rests in the sound discretion of the chair, subject, of course, to the order of the convention."

The result of the roll-call was as follows:

Whole number of votes cast	808
For John R. Lynch	424
For Powell Clayton	384
Majority for Lynch	40

The election of Mr. Lynch, on motion of Mr. Clayton, was then made unanimous.

Titus Sheard, of New York, and Joseph W. Lee, of Pennsylvania, were then elected temporary secretaries, and the rules of the last national convention adopted until a permanent organization was perfected.

Mr. Sewell, of New Jersey, moved that the roll of States be called and the chairmen of the different delegations respond with the names of members of the committees on credentials, permanent organization, rules and order of business, and resolutions, which was agreed to, and the committees were then formed. Mr. Pierce, of Massachusetts, submitted the following resolution:

Resolved, That the subject of a revised apportionment of delegates to future national conventions and of a revised apportionment of members of the national committee be referred to the committee on rules and order of business, with leave to report before the ballot for president.

Motions to table and postpone the resolution were lost, and the same was adopted, and a recess then taken until 11 o'clock A. M., June 4.

Second Day, Wednesday, June 4, 1884, 11 A. M.

George B. Williams, of Indiana, from the committee on permanent organization reported the names of Gen. John B. Henderson, of Missouri, for permanent president, and Charles W. Clisbee, of Michigan, for secretary, and a vice-president and assistant secretary from each State and Territory, which report was adopted.

The convention then took a recess until 7 o'clock P. M.

After the recess the committee on credentials not being ready to report, the convention adjourned until 10 o'clock A. M. the following day.

Third Day, Thursday, June 5, 1884.

Mr. Ballard, of Vermont, from the committee on credentials, reported and its report was unanimously adopted. Mr. Parks, of

California, from the committee on rules and order of business, submitted a report proposing the following rules, viz.:

Rule 1. Same as in 1880.

Rule 2. This convention shall be governed by the general parliamentary law, taking Cushing's Manual for authority; except so far as otherwise provided in the following rules:

Rule 3. Same as in 1880.

Rule 4. Same as in 1880.

Rule 5. Same as in 1880.

Rule 6. Same as in 1880.

Rule 7. Same as in 1880.

Rule 8. Same as in 1880.

Rule 9. No member shall speak more than once upon the same question, no longer than five minutes, unless by leave of the convention, except in the presentation of names of candidates.

Rule 10. A Republican National committe shall be appointed, to consist of one member from each State, Territory, and the District of Columbia, represented in this convention. The roll shall be called and the delegation from each State, Territory, and the District of Columbia shall name, through their chairman, a person to act as a member of such committee. Such committee shall prescribe a method or methods for the election of the delegates to the National convention to be held in 1888, announce the same to the country, and issue a call for that convention in conformity therewith. Provided that such methods or rules shall include and secure to the several congressional districts in the United States the right to select their own delegates to the National convention.

Rule 11. Same as in 1880.

Mr. Galusha A. Grow of Pennsylvania moved to amend rule 10 so as t read as follows—viz:

Rule 10. A Republican National committee shall be appointed to consist of one member from each State, Territory, and the District of Columbia. The roll shall be called and the delegation from each State, Territorry, and the District of Columbia shall name through its chairman, a person who shall act as a member of such committee. Such committee shall issue the call for the meeting of the National convention six months at least before the time set for said meeting; and each congressional district in the United States shall elect its delegates to the National convention in the same way as the nomination of a member of congress is made in said district; and in the Territories the delegates to the convention shall be elected in the same way as the nomination of a delegate to congress is made; and said National committee shall prescribe the mode for electing the delegate for the District of Columbia. An alternate delegate for each delegate to the National convention, to act in case of the absence of the delegate, shall be elected in the same manner and at the same time as the delegate is elected.

After debate the substitute was adopted. Mr. Parks further reported the following as an additional rule—viz:

"Rule 12. The convention shall proceed in the following order of business, commencing after the reports of the Committees on Credentials and Rules: First, report of the Committee on Resolutions. Second, presentation of candidates for president. Third, balloting. Fourth, presentation of candidates for vice-president. Fifth, balloting."

Mr. Bayne of Pennsylvania submitted an amendment to insert after the first paragraph that the roll of States be called to report the names of the members of the national committee. Mr. Parks accepted the amendment and the last part was adopted.

Mr. Thurston moved an amendment to Rule 7, which was agreed to, striking out the word "cast" and inserting in lieu thereof the words "all the votes of the convention." Mr. Saunders of Montana moved an amendment to Rule 10, which was agreed to, adding the following words:

"Provided, That no person shall be a member of the committee who is not eligible as a member of the Electoral College."

An amendment by Mr. Russell of New York adding the words "with leave to report at any time" was agreed to, and the report of the committee as amended agreed to. Mr. Parks, from the committee on rules, reported the following resolution, viz.:

Resolved, That in future Republican National conventions representation shall be as follows, viz.:

First, Each State shall be entitled to four delegates-at-large, and to two additional delegates-at-large for each representative-at-large, if any, elected in such State at the last preceding congressional election.

Second, Each Territory and the District of Columbia shall be entitled to two delegates.

Third, Each congressional district shall be entitled to two delegates.

Mr. Bishop of Massachusetts submitted a minority report, which was debated and withdrawn, and the report of the committee agreed to.

Mr. McKinley from the committee on resolutions reported the following platform:

The Republicans of the United States in national convention assembled renew their allegiance to the principles upon which they have triumphed in six successive presidental elections, and congratulate the American people on the attainment of so many results in legislation and administration by which the Republican party has, after saving the union, done so much to render its institutions just, equal, and beneficent—the safeguard of liberty and the embodiment of the best thought and highest purposes of our citizens. The Republican party has gained its strength by quick and faithful response to the demands of the people for the freedom and equality of all men; for a united nation, assuring the rights of all citizens; for the elevation of labor; for an honest currency; for purity in legislation, and for integrity and accountability in all departments of the government; and it accepts anew the duty of leading in the work of progress and reform.

We lament the death of President Garfield, whose sound statesmanship, long conspicuous in congress, gave promise of a strong and successful administration, a promise fully realized during the short period of his office as president of the United States. His distinguished success in war and peace has endeared him to the hearts of the American people.

In the administration of President Arthur we recognize a wise, conservative, and patriotic policy, under which the country has been blessed with remarkable prosperity, and we believe his eminent services are entitled to and will receive the hearty approval of every good citizen.

It is the first duty of a good government to protect the rights and promote the interests of its own people. The largest diversity of industry is most productive of general prosperity and of the comfort and independence of the people. We therefore demand that the imposition of duties on foreign imports shall be made, not for revenue only, but that in raising the requisite revenues for the government such duties shall be so levied as to afford security to our diversified industries and protection to the rights and wages of the

laborer, to the end that active and intelligent labor, as well as capital, may have its just reward, and the workingman his full share of the national prosperity.

Against the so-called economic system of the Democratic party, which would degrade our labor to the foreign standard, we enter our earnest protest. The Democratic party has failed completely to relieve the people of the burden of unnecessary taxation by a wise reduction of the surplus.

The Republican party pledges itself to correct the inequalities of the tariff and to reduce the surplus, not by the vicious and indiscriminate process of horizontal reduction, but by such methods as will relieve the taxpayer without injuring the laborer of the great productive interests of the country.

We recognize the importance of sheep husbandry in the United States, the serious depression which it is now experiencing and the danger threatening its future prosperity; and we therefore respect the demands of the representatives of this important agricultural interest for a readjustment of duty upon foreign wool in order that such industry shall have full and adequate protection.

We have always recommended the best money known to the civilized world, and we urge that an effort be made to unite all commercial nations in the establishment of an international standard which shall fix for all the relative value of gold and silver coinage.

The regulation of commerce with foreign nations and between the States is one of the most important prerogatives of the general government, and the Republican party distinctly announces its purpose to support such legislation as will fully and efficiently carry out the constitutional power of congress over inter-state commerce.

The principle of the public regulation of railway corporations is a wise and salutary one for the protection of all classes of the people, and we favor legislation that shall prevent unjust discrimination and excessive charges for transportation, and that shall secure to the people and to the railways alike the fair and equal protection of the laws.

We favor the establishment of a national bureau of labor, the enforcement of the eight-hour law, and a wise and judicious system of general education by adequate appropriation from the national revenues wherever the same is needed. We believe that everywhere the protection to a citizen of American birth must be secured to citizens of American adoption, and we favor the settlement of national differences by international arbitration.

The Republican party, having its birth in a hatred of slave labor and in a desire that all men may be free and equal, is unalterably opposed to placing our workingmen in competition with any form of servile labor, whether at home or abroad. In this spirit we denounce the importation of contract labor, whether from Europe or Asia, as an offense against the spirit of American institutions, and we pledge ourselves to sustain the present law restricting Chinese immigration and to provide such further legislation as is necessary to carry out its purposes.

The reform of the civil service, auspiciously begun under Republican administration, should be completed by the further extension of the reformed system, already established by law, to all the grades of the service to which it is applicable. The spirit and purpose of the reform should be observed in all executive appointments, and all laws at variance with the objects of existing reformed legislation should be repealed, to the end that the danger to free institutions which lurks in the power of official patronage may bs wisely and effectively avoided.

The public lands are a heritage of the people of the United States, and should be reserved, as far as possible, for small holdings by actual settlers. We are opposed to the acquisition of large tracts of these lands by corporations or individuals, especially where such holdings are in the hands of non-resident aliens, and we will endeavor to obtain such legislation as will tend to correct this evil. We demand of congress the speedy forfeiture of all land grants which have lapsed by reason of non-compliance with acts of incorpora-

tion, in all cases where there has been no attempt in good faith to perform the conditions of such grants.

The grateful thanks of the American people are due to the Union soldiers and sailors of the late war, and the Republican party stands pledged to suitable pensions for all who were disabled and for the widows and orphans of those who died in the war. The Republican party also pledges itself to the repeal of the limitation contained in the arrears act of 1879, so that all invalid soldiers shall share alike, that their pensions shall begin with the date of disability or discharge, and not with the date of their application.

The Republican party favors a policy which shall keep us from entangling alliances with foreign nations and which shall give the right to expect that foreign nations shall refrain from meddling in American affairs—the policy which seeks peace and can trade with all powers, but especially with those of the Western Hemisphere.

We demand the restoration of our navy to its old time strength and efficiency; that it may, in any sea, protect the rights of American citizens and the interest of American commerce, and we call upon congress to remove the burdens under which American shipping has been depressed, so that it may again be true that we have a commerce which leaves no sea unexplored and a navy which takes no law from a superior force.

Resolved, That it is the duty of congress to enact such laws as shall promptly and effectually suppress the system of polygamy within our territory, and divorce the political from the ecclesiastical power of the so-called Mormon church, and that the law so enacted should be rigidly enforced by the civil authorities if possible and by the military if need be.

The people of the United States, in their organized capacity, constitute a nation and not a mere confederacy of States. The national government is supreme within the sphere of its national duty, but the States have reserved rights which should be faithfully maintained; each should be guarded with jealous care so that the harmony of our system of government may be preserved and the Union kept inviolate. The perpetuity of our institutions rests upon the maintenance of a free ballot, an honest count, and correct returns.

We denounce the fraud and violence practiced by the Democracy in Southern States by which the will of the voter is defeated as dangerous to the preservation of free institutions, and we solemnly arraign the Democratic party as being the guilty recipient of the fruits of such fraud and violence. We extend to the Republicans of the South, regardless of their former party affiliations, our cordial sympathy, and pledge to them our utmost earnest efforts to promote the passage of such legislation as will secure to every citizen, of whatever race and color, the full and complete recognition, possession, and exercise of all civil and political rights.

The platform was unanimously adopted without debate.

The roll of States was then called and the national committee consulted.

The convention then took a recess until 7 o'clock p. m.

After the Recess.

Nominations for a candidate for president were then made as follows:

Joseph R. Hawley of Connecticut, by Mr. Brandagee of that State.

John A. Logan of Illinois, by Shelby M. Cullom of that State.

James G. Blaine of Maine, by William H. West of Ohio.

Chester A. Arthur of New York, by Martin I. Townsend of that state.

John Sherman of Ohio, by J. B. Foraker of that state.

George F. Edmunds of Vermont, by John D. Long of Massachusetts.

Speeches seconding said nominations were made.

Pending the motion of Mr. Foraker that the convention proceed to ballot, Mr. Thurston of Nebraska moved that the convention take a recess until to-morrow morning at 10 o'clock, which motion was lost on a roll-call by yeas, 371; nays, 410.

Pending the demand for the previous question, Mr. Stewart of Pennsylvania moved that the convention adjourn until 11 o'clock to-morrow morning, which motion was agreed to (the roll-call being interrupted by Mr. McKinley by a motion to dispense with the call of States).

Fourth Day, Friday, June 6, 1884.

The roll was then called to nominate for a candidate for President, resulting as follows:

States.	No. of votes	Arthur.	Blaine.	Edmunds.	Logan.	Sherman.
Alabama	20	17	1	.....	1	.....
Arkansas	14	4	8	2	.....	.....
California	16	.....	16	.....	.....	.....
Colorado	6	.....	6	.....	.....	.....
Connecticut	12	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Delaware	6	1	5	.....	.....	.....
Florida	8	7	1	.....	.....	.....
Georgia	24	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Illinois	44	1	3	.....	40	.....
Indiana	30	9	18	1	.....	2
Iowa	26	.....	26	.....	.....	.....
Kansas	18	4	12	.....	1	1
Kentucky	26	16	5½	.....	2½	1
Louisiana	16	10	2	.....	3	.....
Maine	12	.....	12	.....	.....	.....
Maryland	16	6	10	.....	.....	.....
Massachusetts	28	2	1	25	.....	.....
Michigan	26	2	15	7	.....	.....
Minnesota	14	1	7	6	.....	.....
Mississippi	18	17	1	.....	.....	.....
Missouri	32	10	5	6	10	1
Nebraska	10	2	8	.....	.....	.....
Nevada	6	.....	6	.....	.....	.....
New Hampshire	8	4	.....	4	.....	.....
New Jersey	18	9	.....	6	.....	1
New York	72	31	28	12	.....	.....
North Carolina	22	19	2	.....	1	.....
Ohio	46	.....	21	.....	.....	25
Oregon	6	.....	6	.....	.....	.....
Pennsylvania	60	11	47	1	1	.....
Rhode Island	8	.....	.....	8	.....	.....
South Carolina	18	17	1	.....	.....	.....
Tennessee	24	16	7	.....	1	.....
Texas	26	11	13	.....	2	.....
Vermont	8	.....	.....	8	.....	.....
Virginia	24	21	2	.....	.....	.....
West Virginia	12	.....	12	.....	.....	.....
Wisconsin	22	6	10	6	.....	.....

The vote of Connecticut (12) was cast for Joseph R. Hawley, who also received one vote from Kansas; Robert T. Lincoln received four votes and Gen. Sherman two.

The Territorial vote was cast as follows: Nine for Arthur, eight for Blaine, and one for Edmunds.

The chairman announced the result as follows:

For James G. Blaine	334½
For Chester A. Arthur	278
For George F. Edmunds	93
For John A. Logan	63½
For John Sherman	30
For Joseph R. Hawley	13
For Robert T. Lincoln	4
For William T. Sherman	2

The convention then proceeded to a second ballot on which Mr. Blaine gained 5 votes, Mr. Arthur lost 2, Mr. Edmunds lost 8, Mr. Logan lost 2½, Mr. Sherman lost 2, and Gen. Sherman gained one.

On the third ballot Mr. Blaine gained 16, Mr. Arthur lost 2, Mr. Edmunds lost 16, Mr. Logan lost 8, Mr. Sherman lost 3, Mr. Lincoln gained 4, Gen. Sherman lost 1.

Mr. Foraker moved a recess until 10 o'clock to-morrow morning, which motion was lost on a call by yeas 364, nays 450.

The convention then proceeded to the fourth ballot, resulting as follows, viz.:

STATES.	Arthur.	Blaine.	Edmunds.
Alabama	12	8	..
Arkansas	3	11	..
California	..	16	..
Colorado	..	6	..
Connecticut	..	..	..
Delaware	1	5	..
Florida	5	3	..
Georgia	24	..	..
Illinois	3	34	..
Indiana	..	30	..
Iowa	2	24	..
Kansas	..	18	..
Kentucky	15	9	..
Louisiana	7	9	..
Maine	..	12	..
Maryland	1	15	..
Massachusetts	7	3	18
Michigan	..	26	..
Minnesota	..	14	..
Mississippi	16	2	..
Missouri	..	32	..
Nebraska	..	10	..
Nevada	..	6	..
New Hampshire	2	3	3
New Jersey	..	17	1
New York	30	29	9
North Carolina	12	8	..
Ohio	..	46	..

STATES.	Arthur.	Blaine.	Edmunds.
Oregon	..	6	..
Pennsylvania	8	51	1
Rhode Island	1	7	..
South Carolina	15	2	1
Tennessee	12	11	..
Texas	8	15	..
Vermont	..	..	8
Virginia	20	4	..
West Virginia	..	12	..
Wisconsin	..	22	..

Mr. Hawley received 15 votes, 12 from Connecticut, 2 from New York and 1 from North Carolina; Mr. Logan 7 votes, 6 from Illinois and 1 from Kentucky, and Mr. Lincoln 2 votes, 1 from Kentucky and 1 from New York.

The chair announced the result as follows:

For James G. Blaine	541
For Chester A. Arthur	207
For George F. Edmunds	41
For Joseph R. Hawley	15
For John A. Logan	7
For Robert T. Lincoln	2

The chair further announced that Mr. Blaine having received a majority of all the delegates elected to the convention, the question was, shall the nomination of Mr Blaine be made unanimous?

Mr. Burleigh of New York, on behalf of President Arthur, moved to make the nomination unanimous, which, after remarks, was agreed to unanimously.

The convention then took a recess until 8 o'clock.

After the Recess.

The roll of States was then called for the nomination of candidates for vice-president, when nominations were made as follows: John A. Logan by Preston B. Plumb of Kansas. Other speeches were made seconding said nomination—no other name being presented—on motion of Mr. Bradley of Kentucky, the rules were suspended and Gen. Logan was nominated unanimously.

On motion of Mr. McKinley of Ohio, a committee was appointed to advise the nominees of the convention of its action.

Geo. R. Davis of Illinois, on behalf of the delegates from that State, asked that the roll be called on the nomination of vice-president.

The roll was called, there being no objection, resulting as follows:

For John A. Logan	773
For Walter Q. Gresham	6
For J. B. Foraker	1

The nomination was then made unanimous, and the convention, at 9:45 p. m., June 6, 1884, adjourned sine die.

The popular and electoral vote cast, was as follows:

POPULAR AND ELECTORAL VOTE OF 1884.

STATES.	POPULAR.				ELECTORAL VOTE.		
	Blaine, Republican.	Cleveland, Democrat.	Butler, Greenback.	St. John, Prohibitionist.	Blaine.	Cleveland.	Total.
Alabama	59,144	92,973	762	610	.....	10	10
Arkansas	50,895	72,927	1,847	.....	.....	7	7
California	102,416	89,288	2,017	2,910	8	.....	8
Colorado	36,166	27,603	1,961	762	3	.....	3
Connecticut	65,898	67,182	1,685	2,494	.....	6	6
Delaware	13,053	16,976	10	64	.....	3	3
Florida	28,031	31,769	.....	72	.....	4	4
Georgia	47,692	94,053	135	168	.....	12	12
Illinois	337,411	312,584	10,849	12,005	22	.....	22
Indiana	238,480	244,992	8,293	3,028	.....	15	15
Iowa	197,089	177,316	.....	1,472	13	.....	13
Kansas	154,406	90,132	16,341	4,954	9	.....	9
Kentucky	118,122	152,961	1,693	3,139	.....	13	13
Louisiana	46,347	62,546	120	338	8	.....	8
Maine	71,716	51,656	3,994	2,143	6	.....	6
Maryland	85,748	96,866	578	2,827	8	.....	8
Massachusetts	146,724	122,352	24,382	9,925	14	.....	14
Michigan	192,669	189,361	753	18,403	13	.....	13
Minnesota	111,685	70,065	3,583	4,684	7	.....	7
Mississippi	43,509	76,510	.....	.....	.....	9	9
Missouri	202,928	235,988	.....	2,153	.....	16	16
Nebraska	76,903	54,391	.....	2,899	5	.....	5
Nevada	7,193	5,587	26	.....	3	.....	3
New Hamp.	43,250	39,187	552	1,571	4	.....	4
New Jersey	123,366	125,778	3,456	6,153	.....	9	9
New York	562,001	563,048	17,002	25,001	.....	36	36
North Carolina	125,068	142,952	.....	454	.....	11	11
Ohio	400,082	368,286	5,170	11,269	23	.....	23
Oregon	26,860	24,604	726	492	3	.....	3
Pennsylvania	473,804	392,785	17,002	15,737	30	.....	30
Rhode Island	19,030	12,391	422	928	4	.....	4
South Carolina	21,733	69,764	.....	.....	.....	9	9
Tennessee	124,090	133,270	957	1,151	.....	12	12
Texas	91,701	223,679	3,321	3,508	.....	13	13
Vermont	39,514	17,331	785	1,752	4	.....	4
Virginia	139,356	145,497	.....	138	.....	12	12
West Virginia	63,096	67,317	805	939	.....	6	6
Wisconsin	161,157	146,459	4,598	7,656	11	.....	11
Total	4,848,334	4,911,017	133,825	151,809	182	219	401

NINTH NATIONAL CONVENTION.

Chicago, Ill., June 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 25, 1888—Harrison and Morton.

The ninth Republican National convention was called to order at 12 o'clock in the Auditorium at Chicago, Ill., Tuesday, June 19, 1888, by the Hon. B. F. Jones, chairman of the National committee, who proposed at its request the name of the Hon. John M. Thurston of Nebraska as temporary chairman, and Charles W. Clisbee of Michigan, Michael Griffin, of Wisconsin, and William Rule of Tennessee, as temporary secretaries, with other temporary officers. On motion of Mr. Bingham of Pennsylvania, the rules of the last National

Republican convention were adopted until an organization was perfected.

On motion of Mr. George R. Davis of Illinois, the usual resolution for the appointment of committees on permanent organization, rules and order of business, credentials and resolutions, by a call of the roll of States and Territories, was adopted.

The roll was then called and the said committees formed.

The question as to the delegates from Virginia being entitled to name the several committee members from that State was then presented by the chair to the convention. Mr. Steenerson of Minnesota moved to amend the order for the appointment of said committees so as to provide that they should be constituted by one member from each State where there was no contest, which motion was laid on the table on motion of Mr. Hoar of Massachusetts, who further moved, by unanimous consent, that in States where there was no contest the credentials be given to their member of the committee on credentials, which was agreed to, and the convention at 3:29 P. M. adjourned until the following day at 12 M.

Second Day—Wednesday June 20, 1888, 12 M.

Mr. Foster of Ohio, from the committee on permanent organization, reported the name of the Hon. Morris M. Estee of California, for permanent president, the temporary secretaries and other officers to be permanent, Frank Willing Leach to be additional secretary.

After an address by the president and presentation of gavels, Mr. Bayne of Pennsylvania, from the Committee on Rules and Order of Business, submitted the following report:

Rule 1.—Same as in 1880 and 1884, except that Dakota was given ten and Washington Territory six delegates.

Rule 2—Same as in 1880 and 1884.

Rule 3—Same as in 1880 and 1884.

Rule 4—Same as in 1880 and 1884.

Rule 5—Same as in 1880 and 1884.

Rule 6—Same as in 1880 and 1884.

Rule 7- In making the nominations for president and vice-president in no case shall the calling of the roll be dispensed with. When it appears at the close of any roll call that any candidate has received a majority of all the votes to which the convention is entitled the president of the convention shall announce the question to be: Shall the nomination of the candidate be made unanimous? But if no candidate shall have received such majority the chair shall direct the vote to be taken again, which shall be repeated until some candidate shall have received a majority of the votes cast, and when any State has announced its vote it shall so stand, unless in case of numerical error.

Rule 8—Same as in 1880.

Rule 9—No member shall speak more than once upon the same question, nor longer than five minutes, unless by leave of the convention, except in the presentation of names of candidates.

Rule 10—A Republican national committee shall be appointed, to consist of one member from each State, Territory and District of Columbia. The roll shall be called, and the delegation from each State, Territory, and the District of Columbia shall name, through its chairman, a person who shall act as

a member of such committee. Such committee shall issue the call for the meeting of the national convention six months, at least, before the time fixed for said meeting; and each congressional district in the United States shall elect its delegates to the national convention in the same way as the nomination for a member of congress is made in said district, and in Territories the delegates to the convention shall be elected in the same way as a nomination of a delegate to congress is made, and said national committee shall prescribe the mode for selecting the delegates for the District of Columbia. An alternate delegate for each delegate to the national convention to act in case of the absence of the delegate, shall be elected in the same manner and at the same time as the delegate is elected. Delegates at large for each State, and their alternates, shall be elected by State conventions in their respective States.

Rule 11—The Republican national committee is authorized and empowered to select an executive committee, to consist of nine members, who may or may not be members of the national committee.

Rule 12—Same as Rule 11 in 1880 and 1884.

Rule 13—No person except members of the several delegations and officers of the convention shall be admitted to that section of the hall apportioned to delegates.

Rule 14—The convention shall proceed in the following order of business.

1. Report of the committee on credentials.
2. Report of the committee on resolutions.
3. Naming of members of national committee.
4. Presentation of candidates for president.
5. Balloting.
6. Presentation of candidates for vice-president.
7. Balloting.

Mr. Bayne stated that the rules were substantially those of the last national convention, the essential changes being the adoption of the rules of the House of Representatives so far as applicable instead of Cushing's manual, and the appointment of an executive committee of nine members. Mr. Butterworth moved to amend so as to limit speeches to 15 minutes, which was disagreed to. Mr. Hoar moved to amend rule 10 by striking out the words "an alternate delegate for each delegate to the national convention to act in case of the absence of the delegates shall be elected," etc., and in lieu insert the words "alternate delegates for each delegate-at-large and alternate delegates for each district delegation, to consist of the same number as their principals, to act in case of the absence of the delegates who shall be elected," etc., which amendment was disagreed to after debate, and the original report, on motion of Mr. Sewell of New Jersey, adopted. The convention then at 2:09 p. m. took a recess until 8 o'clock p. m.

After the Recess, 8 p. m.

After some miscellaneous detail business had been transacted and addresses made, Mr. Hepburn of Iowa, from theCommittee on Credentials, submitted a report accepting the roll printed by the national committee as correct, and reporting nineteen cases of contest. Mr. Russell of North Carolina submitted a minority report, after which the report, except as to the Virginia contest, was agreed to. After debate a motion to admit the Wood delegation from the ninth district

was agreed to, and the minority report rejected on roll-call by yeas 249½, nays 515. The report of the committee undisposed of as to Virginia was then adopted, and the convention (at 11:24 p. m.) adjourned until 10 a. m. the following day.

Third Day, Thursday, June 21, 1888, 10 A. M.

The roll of States was called and the national committee selected, after which the Hon. William McKinley, from the Committee on Resolutions, reported the following declaration of principles, which was unanimously adopted:

The Republicans of the United States, assembled by their delegates in the national convention, pause on the threshold of their proceedings to honor the memory of their first great leader, the immortal champion of liberty and the rights of the people—Abraham Lincoln—and to cover also with wreaths of imperishable remembrance and gratitude the heroic names of our later leaders who have more recently been called away from our councils—Grant, Garfield, Arthur, Logan, Conkling. May their memories be faithfully cherished. We also recall with our greetings and with prayer for his recovery the name of one of our living heroes, whose memory will be treasured in the history both of Republicans and of the Republic—the name of that noble soldier and favorite child of victory—Philip H. Sheridan.

In the spirit of those great leaders and of our own devotion to human liberty, and with that hostility to all forms of despotism and oppression which is the fundamental idea of the Republican party, we send fraternal congratulation to our fellow-Americans of Brazil upon their great act of emancipation, which completed the abolition of slavery throughout the two American continents. We earnestly hope that we may soon congratulate our fellew-citizens of Irish birth upon the peaceful recovery of home rule for Ireland.

We reaffirm our unswerving devotion to the national constitution and to the indissoluble union of the States; to the autonomy reserved to the States under the constitution, to the personal rights and liberties of citizens in all the States and Territories in the Union and especially to the supreme and sovereign right of every lawful citizen, rich or poor, native or foreign born, white or black, to cast one free ballot in public elections and to have that ballot duly counted. We hold the free and honest popular ballot and the just and equal representation of all the people to be the foundation of our republican government, and demand effective legislation to secure the integrity and purity of elections, which are the fountains of all public authority. We charge that the present administration and the Democratic majority in congress owe their existence to the suppression of the ballot by a criminal nullification of the constitution and laws of the United States.

We are uncompromisingly in favor of the American system of protection; we protest against its destruction as proposed by the president and his party. They serve the interests of Europe; we will support the interests of America. We accept the issue and confidently appeal to the people for their judgment. The protective system must be maintained. Its abandonment has always been followed by general disaster to all interests except those of the usurer and the sheriff. We denounce the Mills bill as distructive to the general business, the labor, and the farming interests of the country, and we heartily indorse the consistent and patriotic action of the Republican representatives in congress in opposing its passage.

We condemn the proposition of the Democratic party to place wool on the free list, and we insist that the duties thereon shall be adjusted and maintained so as to furnish full and adequate protection to that industry.

The Republican party would effect all needed reduction of the national revenue by repealing the taxes upon tobacco, which are an annoyance and

burden to agriculture, and the tax upon spirits used in the arts and for mechanical purposes, and by such revision of the tariff laws as will tend to check imports of such articles as are produced by our people, the production of which gives employment to our labor, and release from import duties those articles of foreign production (except luxuries) the like of which cannot be produced at home. If there shall still remain a larger revenue than is requisite for the wants of the government, we favor the entire repeal of internal taxes rather than the surrender of any part of our protective system at the joint behest of the whisky trusts and the agents of foreign manufactures.

We declare our hospitality to the introduction into this country of foreign contract labor and of Chinese labor, alien to our civilization and our constitution, and we demand the rigid enforcement of the existing laws against it and favor such immediate legislation as will exclude such labor from our shores.

We declare our opposition to all combinations of capital, organized in trusts or otherwise, to control arbitrarily the condition of trade among our citizens; and we recommend to congress and the State legislatures, in their respective jurisdictions, such legislation as will prevent the execution of all schemes to oppress the people by undue charges on their supplies or by unjust rates for the transportation of their products to market. We approve the legislation by congress to prevent alike unjust burdens and unfair discrimination between the States.

We reaffirm the policy of appropriating the public lands of the United States to be homesteads for American citizens and settlers, not aliens, which the Republican party established in 1862, against the persistent opposition of the Democrats in congress, and which has brought our great western domain into such magnificent development. The restoration of unearned railroad land grants to the public domain, for the use of actual settlers, which was begun under the administration of President Arthur, should be continued. We deny that the Democratic party has ever restored one acre to the people, but declare that by the joint action of the Republicans and Democrats about 28,000,000 of acres of unearned lands, originally granted for the construction of railroads, have been restored to the public domain, in pursuance of the conditions inserted by the Republican party in the original grants. We charge the Democratic administration with failure to execute laws securing to settlers title to their homesteads, and with using appropriations made for that purpose to harrass innocent settlers with spies and prosecutions, under the false pretense of exposing frauds and vindicating the law.

The government by congress of the Territories is based upon necessity only, to the end that they may become States in the Union; therefore, whenever the conditions of population, material resources, public intelligence, and morality are such as to insure a stable local government therein, the people of such Territories should be permitted—as a right inherent in them—the right to form for themselves constitutions and State governments and be admitted to the Union. Pending the preparation for Statehood all officers thereof should be selected from among the bona fide residents and citizens of the Territories where they are to serve.

South Dakota should of right be immediately admitted as a State in the Union, under the constitution framed and adopted by her people, and we heartily indorse the action of the Republican Senate in twice passing bills for her admission. The refusal of the Democratic House of Representatives, for partisan purposes, to favorably consider these bills, is a willful violation of the sacred American principle of local self-government, and merits the condemnation of all just men. The pending bills in the senate for acts to enable the people of Washington, North Dakota, and Montana Territories to form constitutions and establish State governments, should be passed without unnecessary delay. The Republican party pledges itself to do all in its power to facilitate the admission of the Territories of New Mexico, Wyoming, Idaho, and Arizona to the enjoyment of self-government as States; such of them as are now qualified, as soon as possible, and the others as soon as they become so.

The political power of the Mormon church in the Territories, as exercised in the past, is a menace to free institutions—a danger no longer to be suffered. Therefore, we pledge the Republican party to appropriate legislation asserting the sovereignty of the Nation in all Territories where the same is questioned, and in furtherance of the end to place upon the statute books legislation stringent enough to divorce the political from the ecclesiastical power, and thus stamp out the attendant wickedness of polygamy.

The Republican party is in favor of the use of both gold and silver as money, and condemns the policy of the Democratic administration in its efforts to demonetize silver.

We demand the reduction of letter postage to one cent per ounce.

In a Republic like ours, where the citizen is the sovereign and the official the servant, where no power is exercised except by the will of the people, it is important that the sovereign—the people—should possess intelligence. The free school is the promoter of that intelligence which is to preserve us a free Nation; therefore the State or Nation, or both combined, should support free institutions of learning, sufficient to afford to every child growing up in the land the opportunity of a good common school education.

We earnestly recommend that prompt action be taken by congress in the enactment of such legislation as will best secure the rehabilitation of our American merchant marine, and we protest against the passage by congress of a free ship bill as calculated to work injustice to labor by lessening the wages of those engaged in preparing materials as well as those directly employed in our shipyards.

We demand appropriations for the early rebuilding of our navy; for the construction of coast fortifications and modern ordnance and other approved modern means of defense for the protection of our defenseless harbors and cities; for the payment of just pensions to our soldiers; for necessary works of national importance in the improvement of harbors and the channels of internal coastwise and foreign commerce; for the encouragement of the shipping interests of the Atlantic, Gulf and Pacific States, as well as for the payment of the maturing debt. This policy will give employment to our labor, activity to our various industries, increase the security of our country, promote trade, open new and direct markets for our produce, and cheapen the cost of transportation. We affirm this to be far better for our country than the Democratic policy of loaning the government's money without interest to "pet banks."

The conduct of foreign affairs by the present administration has been distinguished by its inefficiency and its cowardice. Having withdrawn from the Senate all pending treaties effected by Republican administration for the removal of foreign burdens and restrictions upon our commerce, and for its extension into better markets, it has neither effected nor proposed any others in their stead. Professing adherence to the Monroe doctrine, it has seen with idle complacency the extension of foreign influence in Central America and of foreign trade among our neighbors. It has refused to charter, sanction, or encourage American organization for constructing the Nicaragua Canal, a work of vital importance to the maintenance of the Monroe doctrine, and of our national influence in Central and South America, and necessary for the development of trade with our Pacific territory, with South America, and with the islands and further coasts of the Pacific Ocean.

We arraign the present Democratic administration for its weak and unpatriotic treatment of the fisheries question and its pusillanimous surrender of the essential privileges to which our fishing vessels are entitled in Canadian ports under the treaty of 1818, the reciprocal maritime legislation of 1830, and the comity of nations, and which Canadian fishing vessels receive in the ports of the United States. We condemn the policy of the present administration and the Democratic majority in congress toward our fisheries, as unfriendly and conspicuously unpatriotic, and as tending to destroy a valuable national industry, and an indispensable resource of defense against a foreign enemy.

The name of American applies alike to all citizens of the republic, and imposes upon all alike the same obligation of obedience to the laws. At the same time that citizenship is and must be the panoply and safeguard of him who wears it, and protect him, whether high or low, rich or poor, in all his civil rights. It should and must afford him protection at home, and follow and protect him abroad in whatever land he may be on a lawful errand.

The men who abandoned the Republican party in 1884 and continued to adhere to the Democratic party have deserted not only the cause of honest government, of sound finance, of freedom and purity of ballot, but especially have deserted the cause of reform in the civil service. We will not fail to keep our pledges because they have broken theirs, or because their candidate has broken his. We therefore repeat our declaration of 1884, to-wit:

"The reform of the civil service, auspiciously begun under the Republican administration, should be completed by the further extension of the reform system already established by law to all grades of the service to which it is applicable. The spirit and purpose of the reform should be observed in all executive appointments, and all laws at variance with the object of existing reform legislation should be repealed, to the end that the dangers to free institutions which lurk in the power of official patronage may be wisely and effectively avoided."

The gratitude of the nation to the defenders of the Union cannot be measured by laws. The legislation of congress should conform to the pledge made by a loyal people, and be so enlarged and extended as to provide against the possibility that any man who honorably wore the Federal uniform shall become an inmate of an alms-house or dependent upon private charity. In the presence of an overflowing treasury it would be a public scandal to do less for those whose valorous service preserved the government. We denounce the hostile spirit shown by President Cleveland in his numerous vetoes of measures for pension relief, and the action of the Democratic House of Representatives in refusing even a consideration of general pension legislation.

In support of the principles herewith enunciated we invite the co-operation of patriotic men of all parties, and especially of all workingmen, whose prosperity is seriously threatened by the free-trade policy of the present administration.

Just prior to the adjournment sine die of the convention on June 25, Mr. Boutelle of Maine moved to suspend the rules and adopt the following resolution to be added to the platform, viz.:

The first concern of good government is the virtue and sobriety of the people and the purity of the home. The Republican party cordially sympathizes with all wise and well directed efforts for the promotion of temperance and morality.

The roll of States was then called for the presentation of candidates for president when the following names were presented:

Joseph R. Hawley, of Connecticut, by Samuel Warner of that State.
Walter Q. Gresham, of Illinois, by Leonard Swett of that State.
Benjamin Harrison, of Indiana, by Richard W. Thompson of that State.

The convention at 12:45 P. M. took a recess until 3 P. M.

After the recess, 3 P. M., additional names were presented—viz:

William B. Allison, of Iowa, by William P. Hepburn of that State.
Russell A. Alger, of Michigan, by Robert E. Fraser of that State.
Chauncey M. Depew, of New York, by Frank Hiscock of that State.
John Sherman, of Ohio, by D. H. Hastings, of Pennsylvania.
Edwin H. Fitler, of Pennsylvania, by Charles Emory Smith of Pennsylvania.
Jeremiah M. Rusk, of Wisconsin, by John C. Spooner of that State.

The convention then at 7:25 P. M. adjourned.

Fourth Day—Friday.

Fourth day, June 22, 1888, 11 A. M.

The convention then proceeded to vote for a candidate for president, resulting as follows:

States.	Votes	Alger.	Allison	Depew	Gresham.	Harrison.	Sherman.	Blaine.
Alabama	20	6	...	1	.....	1	12	.....
Arkansas	14	.....	.....	.....	1	1	2	.....
California	16	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	16
Colorado	6	.....	1	.....	3	2	.....	.....
Connecticut	12	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1
Delaware	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	6	.....	.....
Florida	8	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	4	.....
Georgia	24	.....	.....	.....	1	2	19	.....
Illinois	44	.....	.....	.....	44	.....	.....	.....
Indiana	30	.....	.....	.....	1	29	.....	.....
Iowa	26	.....	26	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Kansas	18	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1
Kentucky	26	4	.....	1	5	4	12	.....
Louisiana	16	2	3	1	1	.....	9	.....
Maine	12	3	2	3	1	2	1	.....
Maryland	16	.....	2	1	1	5	5	2
Massachusetts	28	6	2	1	2	4	9	2
Michigan	26	26	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Minnesota	14	1	.....	2	11	.....	.....	.....
Mississippi	18	.....	.....	1	3	.....	14	.....
Missouri	32	6	3	2	11	3	6	1
Nebraska	10	3	3	.....	1	.....	3	.....
Nevada	6	3	3	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
New Hampshire	8	.....	.....	4	.....	4	.....	.....
New Jersey	18	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
New York	72	.....	.....	71	.....	.....	.....	1
North Carolina	22	2	.....	1	2	1	15	1
Ohio	46	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	46	.....
Oregon	6	.....	.....	.....	4	1	.....	1
Pennsylvania	60	1	.....	5	.....	.....	29	2
Rhode Island	8	.....	8	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
South Carolina	18	3	.....	1	.....	.....	11	.....
Tennessee	24	9	1	2	1	1	7	3
Texas	26	2	7	.....	5	1	7	1
Vermont	8	.....	.....	.....	.....	8	.....	.....
Virginia	24	3	3	.....	1	5	11	.....
West Virginia	12	1	.....	.....	2	2	5	2
Wisconsin	22	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....

Edwin H. Fitler received 24 votes, viz.: Florida 6, Pennsylvania 18, South Carolina 2, and Dakota 1.

Joseph R. Hawley received 13 votes, viz.: 12 from Connecticut and 1 from Dakota.

John J. Ingalls received 28 votes, viz.: Arkansas 10, Kansas 17, South Carolina 1.

William Walter Phelps received 25 votes, viz.: New Jersey 18, Pennsylvania 5, Texas 1, Washington 1.

Jeremiah M. Rusk received 25 votes, viz.: Nebraska 1, Virginia 1, Wisconsin 22, Dakota 1.

Robert T. Lincoln received 3 votes, viz.: Georgia 1, Massachusetts 2.

William McKinley received 2 votes from Texas.

The chairman announced the result, viz.:

Alger	84	Allison	72
Depew	99	Fitler	24
Gresham	107	Harrison	85
Hawley	13	Ingalls	28
Phelps	25	Rusk	25
Sherman	229	Blaine	35
Lincoln	3	McKinley	2

The name of Mr. Fitler was then withdrawn and the second roll call resulted:

Sherman	249	Blaine	33
Alger	116	Rusk	20
Gresham	108	Phelps	18
Depew	99	Ingalls	16
Harrison	91	Lincoln	2
Allison	75	McKinley	3

A third ballot was then taken, on which Mr. Sherman lost 5, Gresham gained 15, Alger gained 6, Harrison gained 3, Depew lost 8, Allison gained 13, Blaine gained 2, Rusk lost 2, McKinley gained 5, Phelps lost 13, and Ingalls was not voted for. A recess was then taken at 1:59 P. M. until 7 P. M.

After the recess, 7 P. M., Mr. Depew withdrew his name, and on motion of Mr. Hastings of Pennsylvania the convention, by yeas 531, nays 287 (roll-call), adjourned until Saturday 10 A. M.

Saturday, June 23, 1888, 10 a. m.

The fourth ballot was then taken, resulting:

Sherman	235	Blaine	42
Harrison	216	McKinley	11
Alger	135	Lincoln	1
Gresham	98	Foraker	1
Allison	88	Douglass	1

The fifth ballot was then taken, resulting as follows:

Sherman	224	Gresham	87
Harrison	212	Blaine	48
Alger	143	McKinley	14
Allison	99		

And then, on motion of Mr. Foster of Ohio, at 12o'clock the convention took a recess until 4 P. M.

After the recess, 4 P. M., on motion of Mr. King of Maryland, the convention (at 4:26 P. M.) by yeas 492, nays 320 (roll-call), adjourned until Monday, at 11 A. M.

Sixth Day, Monday, June 25, 1888, 11 A. M.

Before proceeding to another ballot Mr. Boutelle, as a question of privilege, presented and read to the convention the following dispatches:

EDINBURGH, June 24.

To Boutelle and Manley, Maine Delegation, Chicago: Earnestly request all friends to respect my Paris letter. BLAINE.

EDINBURGH, June 25.

(Same address): I think I have the right to ask my friends to respect my wishes and refrain from voting for me. Please make this and former dispatch public promptly. JAMES G. BLAINE.

The sixth ballot was then taken, resulting as follows:

Sherman	244	Allison	73
Harrison	231	Blaine	40
Alger	137	McKinley	12
Gresham	91	Foraker and Fred Grant, each one.	

The seventh ballot was then taken, with the following result:

Harrison	279	Allison	76
Sherman	230	McKinley	16
Alger	120	Blaine	15
Gresham	91	Lincoln	2

Foraker and Hayman, one each.

Prior to taking the eighth ballot Mr. Henderson of Iowa, as a question of privilege, withdrew the name of William B. Allison. The vote was then taken, with the following result:

STATES.	Votes.	Alger.	Gresham.	Harrison.	Sherman.
Alabama	20	10	.....	3	5
Arkansas	14	14	.....	.....	.....
California	16	.....	.....	15	.....
Colorado	6	.....	.....	6	.....
Connecticut	12	.....	.....	12	.....
Delaware	6	.....	.....	6	.....
Florida	8	4	.....	2	2
Georgia	24	3	1	10	9
Illinois	44	.....	40	4	.....
Indiana	30	.....	1	29	.....
Iowa	26	1	3	22	.....
Kansas	18	1	.....	16	.....
Kentucky	26	1	2	15	7
Louisiana	16	4	.....	9	3
Maine	12	.....	1	5	3
Maryland	16	.....	.....	11	4
Massachusetts	28	1	.....	25	2
Michigan	26	26	.....	.....	.....
Minnesota	14	1	.....	13	.....
Mississippi	18	.....	3	4	11
Missouri	32	15	8	7	2
Nebraska	10	1	.....	9	.....
Nevada	6	2	.....	4	.....
New Hampshire	8	.....	.....	8	.....
New Jersey	18	.....	.....	18	.....
New York	72	.....	.....	72	.....
North Carolina	22	3	.....	8	11
Ohio	46	.....	.....	1	45
Oregon	6	.....	.....	6	.....
Pennsylvania	60	.....	.....	59	1
Rhode Island	8	.....	.....	8	.....
South Carolina	18	10	.....	4	4
Tennessee	24	3	.....	20	.....
Texas	26	.....	.....	26	.....
Vermont	8	.....	.....	8	.....
Virginia	24	.....	.....	15	9
West Virginia	12	.....	.....	12	.....
Wisconsin	22	.....	.....	22	.....

The vote of the Territories (30) was cast for Mr. Harrison.

The chair thereupon announced the state of the votes as follows:

Harrison	544	Gresham	59
Sherman	118	Blaine	5
Alger	100	McKinley	4

(Mr. Blaine received two votes from Alabama, one from Colorado, one from Kentucky, and one from Maryland. Mr. McKinley received one vote from Kansas and three from Maine.) The chair then put the question: Shall the nomination of Benjamin Harrison be made unanimous? After speeches, a rising vote was taken and the nomination made unanimous.

A motion for a recess was rejected and the roll of States called for the presentation of names of candidates for vice-president of the United States and the following names were presented:

William O. Bradley of Kentucky, by Mr. George Denny of that State.

After speeches seconding said nomination a recess was taken until 6 P. M.

After the recess, 6 P. M., the names of the following additional candidates for vice-president were then presented:

William Walter Phelps of New Jersey, by William J. Sewell of that State.

Levi P. Morton of New York, by Warner Miller of that State.

The name of William R. Moore of Tennessee was presented, but withdrawn by Moore.

The convention then proceeded to a ballot, resulting as follows, viz.:

STATES.	Bradley.	Morton.	Phelps.	STATES.	Bradley.	Morton.	Phelps.
Alabama	5	15	..	Mississippi	3	5	3
Arkansas	..	14	..	Missouri	5	25	2
California	..	13	3	Nebraska	..	5	5
Colorado	..	6	..	Nevada	..	6	..
Connecticut	..	12	..	New Hampshire	..	7	1
Delaware	..	6	..	New Jersey	..	..	18
Florida	4	4	..	New York	..	72	..
Georgia	18	1	..	North Carolina	..	14	5
Illinois	2	27	15	Ohio	8	30	8
Indiana	..	30	..	Oregon	..	6	..
Iowa	2	10	14	Pennsylvania	..	52	8
Kansas	1	17	..	Rhode Island	..	8	..
Kentucky	25	..	..	South Carolina	..	17	1
Louisiana	3	11	2	Tennessee	11	9	..
Maine	..	7	5	Texas	..	10	15
Maryland	1	12	3	Vermont	..	8	..
Massachusetts	..	28	..	Virginia	2	17	5
Michigan	9	15	2	West Virginia	..	12	..
Minnesota	..	14	..	Wisconsin	1	18	8

The vote of the Territorial delegates (30) was cast for Mr. Morton, save one delegate from Washington, who voted for Mr. Phelps. Four votes from Georgia and seven from Mississippi were cast for B. K. Bruce of Mississippi, and one vote (from Texas) was cast for Mr. Thomas.

The result was then announced, viz.: Morton 592, Phelps 119, Bradley 103, scattering 12, and the nomination was then made unanimous, after which a motion for the appointment of a committee to wait upon the nominees and inform them of their nomination was agreed to. An amendment to the platform submitted by Mr. Boutelle of Maine was agreed to under a suspension of the rules (see platform, p. 60), and the convention at 8 o'clock and 58 minutes P. M. (Monday, June 25, 1888) adjourned sine die.

The popular and electoral vote was as follows:

POPULAR VOTE.

STATES.	1888.			
	REP. Harrison.	DEM. Cleveland.	UNIT. LAB. Streeter.	PROHIB. Fisk.
Alabama	57,197	117,320	.....	593
Arkansas	58,752	85,962	10,613	614
California	124,816	117,729	.....	5,761
Colorado	50,774	37,567	1,266	2,191
Connecticut	74,584	74,920	240	4,234
Delaware	12,973	16,414	.....	404
Florida	26,659	39,561	.....	403
Georgia	40,446	100,449	.....	1,808
Illinois	370,475	348,371	7,134	21,703
Indiana	263,361	261,013	2,694	9,881
Iowa	211,958	179,877	9,105	3,550
Kansas	182,904	102,745	37,788	6,779
Kentucky	155,134	183,800	.....	5,225
Louisiana	30,701	85,026	39	127
Maine	73,731	50,482	1,345	2,690
Maryland	99,986	106,168	.....	4,767
Massachusetts	183,892	151,855	.....	8,701
Michigan	236,387	213,469	4,555	20,945
Minnesota	142,492	104,385	1,097	15,311
Mississippi	30,096	85,471	222	218
Missouri	236,253	261,954	18,589	4,540
Nebraska	108,425	80,552	4,226	9,429
Nevada	7,238	5,326	.....	41
New Hampshire	45,728	43,456	42	1,593
New Jersey	144,360	151,508	.....	7,933
New York	650,338	635,965	626	30,231
North Carolina	134,784	147,902	.....	.....
Ohio	416,054	396,455	3,496	24,356
Oregon	33,291	26,522	363	1,677
Pennsylvania	523,585	444,327	3,877	20,708
Rhode Island	21,969	17,530	.....	1,251
South Carolina	13,740	65,825	.....	.....
Tennessee	138,988	158,779	.....	5,969
Texas	88,280	234,883	29,459	4,749
Vermont	45,192	16,788	.....	1,459
Virginia	150,438	151,977	.....	1,678
West Virginia	78,171	78,677	1,508	1,084
Wisconsin	176,553	155,232	8,552	14,277
Total	5,440,708	5,536,242	146,836	246,876

ELECTORAL VOTE.

	Harrison.	Cleveland.		Harrison.	Cleveland.
Alabama	..	10	Missouri	..	16
Arkansas	..	7	Nebraska	5	..
California	8	..	Nevada	3	..
Colorado	3	..	New Hampshire	4	..
Connecticut	..	6	New Jersey	..	9
Delaware	..	3	New York	36	..
Florida	..	4	North Carolina	..	11
Georgia	..	12	Ohio	23	..
Illinois	22	..	Oregon	3	..
Indiana	15	..	Pennsylvania	30	..
Iowa	13	..	Rhode Island	4	..
Kansas	9	..	South Carolina	..	9
Kentucky	..	13	Tennessee	..	12
Louisiana	..	8	Texas	..	13
Maine	6	..	Vermont	4	..
Maryland	..	8	Virginia	..	12
Massachusetts	14	..	West Virginia	..	6
Michigan	13	..	Wisconsin	11	..
Minnesota	7	..			
Mississippi	..	9	Total	233	168

TENTH NATIONAL CONVENTION.

Minneapolis, Minn., June 7, 8, 9, 10, 1892—Harrison and Reid.

The Tenth Republican convention was called to order at 12:15 P. M. in the Exposition Hall at Minneapolis, Minn., Tuesday, June 7, 1892, by the Hon. J. S. Clarkson of Iowa, chairman of the national committee, who proposed the Hon. J. Sloat Fassett of New York, as temporary chairman. Mr. Fassett was selected by acclamation. Charles W. Johnson of Minnesota, Carson Lake of New York, George Lee of California, Joseph T. Brown of Pennsylvania, W. P. Brownlow of Tennessee, F. M. Albuhret of Ohio, and Albert Clark of Massachusetts, were named as temporary secretaries.

It was ordered that until the permanent organization should be effected the convention should be governed by the rules of the last Republican national convention.

Gen. W. J. Sewell of New Jersey offered a resolution that the roll of States and Territories be called, and that the chairman of each delegation announce the names of the persons selected to serve on the committees on permanent organization, rules and order of business, credentials and resolutions. The resolution was adopted, and the names of the members of the various committees were handed up. The convention then adjourned till 11 o'clock A. M. the following day, Wednesday, June 8.

Second Day, Wednesday, June 8, 11 A. M.

It was nearer noon than 11 o'clock when the convention reassembled the second day. After the presentation of gavels by the Minnesota and Nebraska delegation the report of the committee on Permanent Organization was presented by C. B. Lockwood of Idaho. It recommended

William McKinley, Jr. of Ohio for permanent chairman, and that the temporary secretaries be made permanent. The report was adopted, and after an address by Chairman McKinley the report of the Committee on Rules was presented by Gen. H. H. Bingham of Pennsylvania. The report recommended the adoption of the rules of the House of Representatives of the Fifty-first congress, with an order of business similar to that which had obtained in previous national conventions. Gen. Bingham explained that the only material changes were in the adoption of the rules of the House of Representatives in the Fifty-first congress, and the addition of a new one proposing that a motion to table an amendment should not carry with it or prejudice the pending measure. The report was adopted by the convention amid cheers for ex-Speaker Reed.

Ex-Gov. Foraker, from the committee on credentials, reported that it was not ready to report, and after the various delegations had named their members of the national committee, the convention, on motion of Mr. M. H. DeYoung of California, adjourned till 11 A. M. the following morning, Thursday, June 9.

Third Day. Thursday, June 9, 1892, 11 A. M.

On the reassembling of the convention, Thursday morning, Chairman Coggswell from the Committee on Credentials reported that it would be able to report by night, and the convention at once took a recess until 8 P. M. It was a few minutes of 9 when Chairman McKinley called the delegates to order. Chauncey Depew had the venerable R. W. Thompson of Indiana, secretary of the navy under President Hayes, introduced to the convention. Mr. Thompson addressed it while the committee on credentials was getting ready. Finally Gen. Cogswell, the chairman, presented the majority report and Mr. Wallace of New York, the minority one. The delegates about whose title the committee divided, were the four at large from Alabama. The delegates whose seating the majority recommended, were classed as Harrison men, while those for whom the minority contended were known to favor Blaine. The majority report was supported by Chauncey Depew, Massey of Delaware, Powell Clayton of Arkansas, Bethea of Illinois, Hart of West Virginia, and others. Senator Wolcott of Colorado, Filley of Missouri, Knight of California, Duffield of Michigan, and Warner Miller of New York, supported the minority report. It was after midnight when the roll-call was had on the majority and minority reports—the first test between the supporters of Blaine and Harrison during the three days that the convention had been in session. The followers of Harrison quite unanimously voted for the majority report, while the Blaine delegates sought to have the minority report substituted. The Harrison people were victorious by a majority fractionally under forty. The test vote was taken on a motion by Mr. Filley of Missouri, to substitute

the minority for the majority report. The vote by which the convention refused to seat the Blaine delegates-at-large from Alabama was as follows—the fractional votes being due to the allowance which the national committee had made in giving certain contestants one-half vote each:

STATES.	Total.	For.	Agst.	STATES.	Total.	For.	Agst
Alabama	22	13	5	New Jersey	20	2	18
Arkansas	16	1	15	New York	72	45	27
California	18	10	8	North Dakota	6	4	2
Colorado	8	8	..	North Carolina	22	10	12
Connecticut	12	9	3	Ohio	46	27	19
Delaware	6	2	4	Oregon	8	6	2
Florida	8	..	8	Pennsylvania	64	54	9
Georgia	26	1	25	Rhode Island	8	3	5
Idaho	6	6	..	South Carolina	18	6	12
Illinois	48	20	28	South Dakota	8	5	3
Indiana	30	..	30	Tennessee	24	12	10
Iowa	26	6	20	Texas	30	9	20
Kansas	20	10	10	Vermont	8	5	3
Kentucky	26	6	20	Virginia	24	15	9
Louisiana	16	11	2	Washington	8	8	..
Maine	12	12	..	West Virginia	12	2	10
Maryland	16	..	16	Wisconsin	24	9	15
Massachusetts	30	14	16	Wyoming	6	2	4
Michigan	28	20	8	Territories—			
Minnesota	18	11	7	Arizona	2	1	1
Mississippi	48	6	10½	Oklahoma	2	..	2
Missouri	34	14	19	New Mexico	2	..	2
Montana	6	5	1	Utah	2	1	1
Nebraska	16	6	10	Dist. of Columbia.	2	2	..
Nevada	6	6	..				
New Hampshire	8	2	6	Total	902	423	463½

Subsequently the majority report was adopted by an increased majority. The delegates whose seats were contested were not allowed to vote, and there were some absentees.

The platform was then presented by Gov. Foraker, from the Committee on Resolutions. The full text is as follows:

The representatives of the Republicans of the United States, assembled in general convention on the shores of the Mississippi river, the everlasting bond of an indestructible republic, whose most glorious chapter of history is the record of the Republican party, congratulate their countrymen on the majestic march of the nation under the banners inscribed with the principles of our platform of 1888, vindicated by victory at the polls and prosperity in our fields, workshops and mines, and make the following declaration of principles:

We reaffirm the American doctrine of protection. We call attention to its growth abroad. We maintain that the prosperous condition of our country is largely due to the wise revenue legislation of the Republican congress.

We believe that all articles which cannot be produced in the United States, except luxuries, should be admitted free of duty, and that on all imports coming in competition with the products of American labor there should be levied duties equal to the difference between wages abroad and at home.

We assert that the price of manufactured articles of general consumption have been reduced under the operations of the tariff act of 1890.

We denounce the efforts of the Democratic majority of the House of Representatives to destroy our tariff laws by piecemeal, as is manifested by

their attacks upon wool, lead and lead ores, the chief products of a number of States, and we ask the people for their judgment thereon.

We point to the success of the Republican policy of reciprocity, under which our export trade has vastly increased, and new and enlarged markets have been opened for the products of our farms and workshops. We remind the people of the bitter opposition of the Democratic party to this practical business measure, and claim that, executed by a Republican administration, our present laws will eventually give us control of the trade of the world.

The American people, from tradition and interest, favor bimetallism, and the Republican party demands the use of both gold and silver as a standard money, with such restrictions and under such provisions, to be determined by legislation, as will secure the maintenance of the parity of values of the two metals, so that the purchasing and debt-paying power of the dollar, whether of silver, gold, or paper, shall be at all times equal. The interests of the producers of the country, its farmers and its workmen, demand that every dollar, paper or coin, issued by the government, shall be as good as any other.

We commend the wise and patriotic steps already taken by our government to secure an international conference to adopt such measures as will insure a parity of value between gold and silver for use as money throughout the world.

We demand that every citizen of the United States shall be allowed to cast one free and unrestricted ballot in all public elections, and that such ballot shall be counted and returned as cast; that such laws shall be enacted and enforced as will secure to every citizen, be he rich or poor, native or foreign born, white or black, this sovereign right guaranteed by the constitution. The free and honest popular ballot, the just and equal representation of all the people, as well as their just and equal protection under the laws, are the foundation of our Republican institutions, and the party will never relax its efforts until the integrity of the ballot and the purity of elections shall be fully guaranteed and protected in every State.

We denounce the continued inhuman outrages perpetrated upon American citizens for political reasons in certain Southern States of the Union.

We favor the extension of our foreign commerce, the restoration of our merchant marine by home-built ships, and the creation of a navy for the protection of our national interests and the honor of our flag; the maintenance of the most friendly relations with all foreign powers, entangling alliances with none; and the protection of the rights of our fishermen.

We reaffirm our approval of the Monroe doctrine and believe in the achievement of the manifest destiny of the Republic in its broadest sense.

We favor the enactment of more stringent laws and relations for the restriction of criminal, pauper and contract immigration.

We favor efficient legislation by congress to protect the life and limb of employes of transportation companies engaged in carrying on inter-State commerce, and recommend legislation by the respective States that will protect employes engaged in State commerce, in mining and in manufacturing.

The Republican party has always been the champion of the oppressed and recognizes the dignity of manhood, irrespective of faith, color or nationality; it sympathizes with the cause of home rule in Ireland, and protests against the persecution of the Jews in Russia.

The ultimate reliance of free popular government is the intelligence of the people and the maintenance of freedom among men. We therefore declare anew our devotion to liberty of thought and conscience, of speech and press, and approve all agencies and instrumentalities which contribute to the education of the children of the land, but while insisting upon the fullest measure of religious liberty we are opposed to any union of church and State.

We reaffirm our opposition declared in the Republican platform of 1888 to all combinations of capital, organized in trusts or otherwise, to control arbitrarily the condition of trade among our citizens. We heartily indorse the

action already taken upon this subject and ask for such further legislation as may be required to remedy any defects in existing laws and to render their enforcement more complete and effective.

We approve the policy of extending to towns, villages and rural communities the advantages of the free delivery service now enjoyed by the larger cities of the country and reaffirm the declaration contained in the Republican platform of 1888, pledging the reduction of letter postage to one cent at the earliest possible moment consistent with the maintenance of the postoffice department, and the highest class of postal service.

Miscellaneous Matters.

CIVIL SERVICE—We commend the spirit and evidence of reform in the civil service and the wise and consistent enforcement by the Republican party of the laws regulating the same.

NICARAGUA CANAL—The construction of the Nicaragua canal is of the highest importance to the American people, but as a measure of national defense and to build up and maintain American commerce it should be controlled by the United States government.

TERRITORIES—We favor the admission of the remaining Territories at the earliest practicable date, having due regard to the interests of the people of the Territories and of the United States. All the federal officers appointed for the Territories should be selected from bona fide residents thereof and the right of self-government should be accorded as far as practicable.

ARID LAND—We favor cession, subject to the homestead laws, of the arid public lands to the States and Territories in which they lie, under such congressional restrictions as to disposition, reclamation, and occupancy by settlers as will secure the maximum benefits to the people.

THE COLUMBIAN EXPOSITION—The World's Columbian Exposition is a great national undertaking, and congress should promptly enact such reasonable legislation in aid thereof as will insure a discharging of the expense and obligations incident thereto, and the attainment of results commensurate with the dignity and progress of the Nation.

INTEMPERANCE—We sympathize with all wise and legitimate efforts to lessen and prevent the evils of intemperance and promote morality.

PENSIONS—Ever mindful of the services and sacrifices of the men who saved the life of the Nation, we pledge anew to the veteran soldiers of the Republic a watchful care and recognition of their just claims upon a grateful people.

HARRISON'S ADMINISTRATION—We commend the able, patriotic, and thoroughly American administration of President Harrison. Under it the country has enjoyed remarkable prosperity and the dignity and honor of the Nation, at home and abroad, have been faithfully maintained, and we offer the record of the pledges kept as a guarantee of faithful performance in the future.

After the platform had been adopted the convention adjourned at 1:27 A. M., till 11 A. M. Friday, June 10.

Fourth Day, Friday, June 10, 11 A. M.

When the convention met Friday morning, Senator Quay announced that the friends of the minority report would make no further opposition to the majority report, and it was adopted as a whole unanimously. By vote of the convention Alaska and Indian Territory were admitted to representation with two votes each. Minor matters were disposed of and the roll of States was called for the presentation of candidates for president. Senator Wolcott of Colorado placed James G. Blaine in nomination, and this nomination was seconded by W. H. Eustis of Minnesota, W. E. Mollisson of Mississippi

Warner Miller of New York, G. B. Boyd of Tennessee, and S. W. Donney of Wyoming.

President Harrison was placed in nomination by R. W. Thompson of Indiana. The nomination was seconded by Chauncey Depew of New York, H. R. Cheatam of North Carolina, John C. Spooner and Bruno Fink of Wisconsin. It was late in the afternoon when the balloting began. There was but one ballot, as President Harrison had a majority in the first test of strength. It was the understanding of the opposition that the votes should be divided between Blaine and McKinley with a view to centering on the latter. The ballot resulted as follows:

STATES.	No. of Delegates.	Harrison.	McKinley.	Blaine.	Thos. B. Reed	Lincoln.
Alabama	22	15	7			
Arkansas	16	15	1			
California	18	8	1	9		
Colorado	8			8		
Connecticut	12	4	8			
Delaware	6	4	1	1		
Florida	8	8				
Georgia	26	26				
Idaho	6			6		
Illinois	48	34		14		
Indiana	30	30				
Iowa	26	20	1	5		
Kansas	20	11	9			
Kentucky	26	22	1	2		
Louisiana	16	8		8		
Maine	12			12		
Maryland	16	14	2			
Massachusetts	30	18	11	1		
Michigan	28	7	19	2		
Minnesota	18	8	1	9		
Mississippi	18	13½		4½		
Missouri	34	28	2	4		
Montana	6	5		1		
Nebraska	16	15	1			
Nevada	6			6		
New Hampshire	8	4		2	1	1
New Jersey	20	18		2		
New York	72	27	10	35		
North Dakota	6	2		4		
North Carolina	22	17⅔	1	2⅔		
Ohio	46	1	45			
Oregon	8	1	7			
Pennsylvania	64	19	42	3		
Rhode Island	8	1	1	5	1	
South Carolina	18	13	2	3		
South Dakota	8	8				
Tennessee	24	17	3	4		
Texas	30	22		6	2	
Vermont	8	8				
Virginia	24	9	2	13		
Washington	8	1	1	6		

STATES.	No. of Delegates.	Harrison.	McKinley.	Blaine.	Thos. B. Reed	Lincoln.
West Virginia	12	12	.....	.....	.....	.....
Wisconsin	24	19	3	2	.....	.....
Wyoming	6	4	.....	2	.....	.....
TERRITORIES.						
Alaska	2	2	.....	.....	.....	.....
Arizona	2	1	.....	1	.....	.....
Indian Territory	2	1	.....	1	.....	.....
Oklahoma	2	2	.....	.....	.....	.....
New Mexico	6	6	.....	.....	.....	.....
Utah	2	2	.....	.....	.....	.....
Dist. of Columbia	2	.....	.....	2	.....	.....
Total	905	535⅛	182	181⅝	4	1

Absent and not voting 2
Necessary to a choice 453
Harrison's plurality 82⅛

The result of the ballot was announced at 4:30 P. M. After making the nomination unanimous the convention took a recess until 8 P. M. At the evening session Whitelaw Reid of New York was named for Vice-President without opposition, and after clearing up the usual miscellaneous business the convention adjourned sine die.

ALL ITS CONVENTIONS.

CONCISE HISTORY OF THOSE HELD BY THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY.

Names of all the Candidates for the Presidency and Vice-Presidency from 1832 to the Present Day—The Most Important and Interesting Ballots Given—Who the Temporary and Permanent Presiding Officers Were—When the First Dark Horse Appeared.

The following exhaustive article is by Henry H. Smith, who, in THE TRIBUNE *of Tuesday, June 14, gave a concise history of all the Republican conventions. Mr. Smith is the compiler and author of "Digest and Manual of the U. S. H. of R." and "The Parliamentary History of Congress."*

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The "convention system" of making party nominations and the practice of adopting a platform of principles was first established in the Jackson and Van Buren presidential campaign. The first national convention to be held was that of the anti-Masons, which party had its birth in Western New York after the alleged abduction of William Morgan in 1826 for having revealed the secrets of Freemasonry. Their convention was held in Philadelphia in September, 1830, and ten States and the Territory of Michigan were represented by ninety-six delegates. An organization was perfected and a second convention held at Baltimore, September 26, 1831, in which thirteen States were represented with 112 delegates. The nominees were William Wirt of Maryland for president, and Amos Elmaker for vice-president.

The next convention was that of the "National Republicans," which met at Baltimore, December 12, 1831. One hundred and fifty-seven delegates were present from seventeen States. All of the northern States, save Illinois, sent delegates, Delaware, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, North Carolina, Tennessee and Virginia, of the Southern States, being represented. Henry Clay of Kentucky was nominated for president, and John Sergeant of Pennsylvania for vice-president. The call for a Democratic national convention originated in New Hampshire, and the convention was called to order by Mr. Sumner of that State, May 21, 1832. Two hundred and eighty-three delegates were present, every State being represented except

Missouri. Gen. Robert Lucas of Ohio was made temporary chairman, and John A. Dix of New York temporary secretary. They were subsequently made permanent officers of the convention.

The following report of the committee on rules was adopted without amendment:

Resolved, That each State be entitled in the nomination to be made of a candidate for the vice-presidency to a number of votes equal to the number to which they will be entitled in the electoral college under the new apportionment in voting for president and vice-president, and that two-thirds of the whole number of the votes of the convention shall be necessary to constitute a choice.

That in taking the vote the majority of the delegates from each State designate the person by whom the votes for that State shall be given.

That the candidate for vice-president shall be designated by the ballot or ballots of the persons so selected for this purpose by the respective delegations without nomination in convention, and that if a choice is not had upon the first balloting the respective delegations shall retire and prepare for a second balloting, and continue this mode of voting until a selection is made.

That the meetings of the convention be opened by prayer, and that the reverend clergy of this city be respectfully invited to perform the duty.

This was the origin of the "two-thirds" rule by which all subsequent Democratic national conventions have been governed in making nominations, and though several attempts have been made to abolish it they have been uniformly defeated by overwhelming majorities.

The following, adopted at a ratification meeting in Washington held shortly after the convention, is given as the national Democratic platform for 1832:

Resolved, That an adequate protection to American industry is indispensable to the prosperity of the country; and that an abandonment of the policy at this period would be attended with consequences ruinous to the best interests of the nation.

Resolved, That a uniform system of internal improvements, sustained and supported by the general government, is calculated to secure, in the highest degree, the harmony, the strength, and permanency of the republic.

Resolved, That the indiscriminate removal of public officers for a mere difference of political opinion is a gross abuse of power; and that the doctrines lately boldly preached in the United States Senate, that "to the victors belong the spoils of the vanquished," is detrimental to the interests, corrupting to the morals, and dangerous to the liberties of the country.

The convention then proceeded to ballot for a candidate for vice-president, with the following result:

Martin Van Buren, New York	208
Philip P. Barbour, Virginia	49
Richard W. Johnson, Kentucky	26

The following resolution, submitted by Clement C. Clay of Alabama, was unanimously adopted:

Resolved, That the convention reposes the highest confidence in the purity, patriotism, and talents of Andrew Jackson, and that we most cordially concur in the repeated nominations which he has received in various parts of the Union as the candidate for re-election to the office which he now fills with so much honor to himself and usefulness to his country.

The popular vote resulted: Jackson, 687,502; Clay, 530,189 (the vote for Mr. Wirt being included in Clay's vote), the States of Alabama and South Carolina electing by legislature.

The electoral vote resulted as follows:

FOR JACKSON.

Maine	10	Mississippi	4
New Hampshire	7	Louisiana	5
New York	42	Tennessee	15
New Jersey	8	Ohio	21
Pennsylvania	30	Indiana	9
Maryland	3	Illinois	5
Virginia	23	Missouri	4
North Carolina	15		
Georgia	11	Total	219
Alabama	7		

FOR CLAY.

Massachusetts	14	Maryland	5
Rhode Island	4	Kentucky	15
Connecticut	8		
Delaware	3	Total	49

FOR WIRT.

Vermont 7

FLOYD OF VIRGINIA.

Legislature of South Carolina 11

SECOND NATIONAL CONVENTION.

At Baltimore, Md., May 20-22, 1835.—Van Buren and Johnson the Nominees

It was an "open secret" that President Jackson desired that Mr. Van Buren should be his successor, and in order to head off a movement in favor of Senator Hugh L. White of Tennessee for the nomination, the president wrote a letter advocating an early convention for the nomination of candidates for president and vice-president. A convention was accordingly called for May 20, 1835, at Baltimore. It was called to order by George Kreimer of Pennsylvania, and Andrew Stevenson of Virginia (ex-speaker of the House of Representatives) was made temporary chairman and permanent president. Twenty-two States were represented by upwards of 600 delegates, more than half being from Maryland, though in voting each State was allowed only the number of votes equal to its delegation in congress. The rules of the last national convention were then adopted. Martin Van Buren of New York was nominated for president on the first ballot, receiving every vote cast. Richard M. Johnson of Kentucky was nominated for vice-president on the first ballot, receiving 178 votes to 87 for William C. Rives of Virginia, barely enough to secure his nomination. An attempt was made before balloting to repeal the two-thirds rule and permit a majority to nominate, but it was rejected. No platform was adopted.

Twenty-six States participated in the election, Arkansas having been admitted June 15, 1836.

The popular vote resulted:

Mr. Van Buren	762,678
Gen. Harrison (and White)	735,651

The electoral vote was cast as follows:

VAN BUREN.

Maine	10	Alabama	7
New Hampshire	7	Mississippi	4
Rhode Island	4	Louisiana	5
Connecticut	8	Arkansas	3
New York	42	Missouri	4
Pennsylvania	30	Illinois	5
Virginia	23	Michigan	3
North Carolina	15		

(The vote of Michigan (which had applied for admission in 1833) was counted the same as that of Missouri in 1821.)

HARRISON.

Vermont	7	Kentucky	15
New Jersey	8	Ohio	21
Delaware	3	Indiana	9
Maryland	10		

MR. WHITE OF TENNESSEE.

Georgia	11	Tennessee	15

MR. WEBSTER.

Massachusetts	14

MR. MANGUM.

North Carolina	11

THIRD NATIONAL CONVENTION.

Held at Baltimore, Md., May 5-6, 1840—Van Buren for President—No Vice-President.

The Third National convention of the Democratic party was called to order May 5, 1840, at Baltimore, Md., by Felix Grundy of Tennessee. Gov. Isaac Hill of New Hampshire was made temporary chairman and Gen. William Carroll of Tennessee permanent president. The rules of the last national convention were adopted, with a resolution offered by Mr. O'Neil of Missouri that in taking the votes on nomination the delegations of each State should give such votes as their States are entitled to in the election of president and vice-president.

The following platform reported by Mr. Gillett of New York from the committee on resolutions on the second day was adopted without amendment:

Resolved, That the federal government is one of limited powers, derived solely from the constitution, and the grants of powers shown therein, ought to be strictly construed by all the departments and agents of the government, and that it is inexpedient and dangerous to exercise doubtful constitutional powers.

2. *Resolved*, That the constitution does not confer upon the general government the power to commence and carry on a general system of internal improvements.

3. *Resolved*, That the constitution does not confer authority upon the federal government directly or indirectly, to assume the debts of the several States, contracted for local internal improvements or other State purposes; nor would such assumption be just or expedient.

4. *Resolved*, That justice and sound policy forbid the federal government to foster one branch of industry to the detriment of another, or to cherish the interest of one portion to the injury of another portion of our

common country; that every citizen and every section of the country has a right to demand and insist upon an equality of rights and privilages, and to complete and ample protection of persons and property from domestic violence or foreign aggression.

5. *Resolved*, That it is the duty of every branch of the government to enforce and practice the most rigid economy in conducting our public affairs, and that no more revenue ought to be raised than is required to defray the necessary expenses of the government.

6. *Resolved*, That congress has no power to charter a United States bank; that we believe such an institution one of deadly hostility to the best interests of the country, dangerous to our republican institutions and the liberties of the people, and calculated to place the business of the country within the control of a concentrated money power and above the laws and the will of the people.

7. *Resolved*, That congress has no power under the constitution to interfere with or control the domestic institutions of the several States; and that such States are the sole and proper judges of everything pertaining to their own affairs not prohibited by the constitution; that all efforts by abolitionists or others made to induce congress to interfere with questions of slavery, or to take incipient steps in relation thereto, are calculated to lead to the most alarming and dangerous consequences, and that all such efforts have an inevitable tendency to diminish the happiness of the people and endanger the stability and permanence of the Union, and ought not to be countenanced by any friend to our political institutions.

8. *Resolved*, That the separation of the moneys of the government from banking institutions is indispensable for the safety of the funds of the government and the rights of the people.

9. *Resolved*, That the liberal principles embodied by Jefferson in the Declaration of Independence, and sanctioned in the constitution, which makes ours the land of liberty and the asylum of the oppressed of every nation, have ever been cardinal principles in the Democratic faith; and every attempt to abridge the present privilege of becoming citizens and the owners of soil among us ought to be resisted with the same spirit which swept the alien and sedition laws from our statute book.

WHEREAS, Several of the States which have nominated Martin Van Buren as a candidate for the presidency have put in nomination different individuals as candidates for vice-president, thus indicating a diversity of opinion as to the person best entitled to nomination; and whereas, some of the said States are not represented in this convention; therefore,

Resolved, That the convention deem it expedient at the present time not to choose between the individuals in nomination, but to leave the decision to their Republican fellow-citizens in the several States, trusting that before the election shall take place their opinions will become so concentrated as to secure the choice of a vice-president by the electoral college.

Clement C. Clay of Alabama, from the "Nominating Committee," reported a preamble and resolution recommending the nomination of Martin Van Buren of New York for president, and that no nomination be made for vice-president, which report was adopted. The unpopularity of Vice-President Johnson in some quarters led to this action, several States being unrepresented in the convention, it being also urged that the vice-presidency was safe in the hands of the senate, then Democratic.

The popular vote resulted:

Gen. Harrison (Whig)	1,275,016
Martin Van Buren (Democrat)	1,129,102
Wm. Birney (Abolition)	7,069

The electoral vote was as follows:

GEN. HARRISON.

Maine	10	Georgia	11
Vermont	7	Mississippi	4
Massachusetts	14	Louisiana	5
Rhode Island	4	Kentucky	15
Connecticut	8	Tennessee	15
New York	42	Ohio	21
New Jersey	8	Indiana	9
Pennsylvania	30	Michigan	3
Delaware	3		
Maryland	10	Total	234
North Carolina	15		

MARTIN VAN BUREN.

New Hampshire	7	Arkansas	3
Virginia	23	Illinois	5
South Carolina	11		
Alabama	7	Total	60
Maryland	4		

FOURTH NATIONAL CONVENTION.

Held at Baltimore, Md., May 27-29, 1844—Polk and Dallas the Nominees.

The Fourth National convention of the Democratic party was called to order at Baltimore, Md., May 27, 1844, by R. M. Saunders of North Carolina. Hendrick B. Wright of Pennsylvania was chosen temporary and also permanent chairman, and the rules of the convention of 1832 were adopted after a sharp contest, Benjamin F. Butler of New York opposing the two-thirds rule, which was finally carried by yeas 148, nays 118.

The platform as reported by Mr. Butler re-affirmed the platform of 1840 and added the following:

Resolutions 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8 and 9 of the platform of 1840 were reaffirmed, to which were added the following:

10. *Resolved*, That the proceeds of the public lands ought to be sacredly applied to the national objects specified in the constitution, and that we are opposed to the laws lately adopted, and to any law for the distribution of such proceeds among the States, as alike inexpedient in policy and repugnant to the constitution.

11. *Resolved*, That we are decidedly opposed to taking from the president the qualified veto power by which he is enabled, under restrictions and responsibilities amply sufficient to guard the public interest, to suspend the passage of a bill whose merits cannot secure the approval of two-thirds of the Senate and House of Representatives, until the judgment of the people can be obtained thereon, and which has thrice saved the American people from the corrupt and tyrannical domination of the bank of the United States.

12. *Resolved*, That our title to the whole of the Territory of Oregon is clear and unquestionable; that no portion of the same ought to be ceded to England or any other power, and that the reoccupation of Oregon and the reannexation of Texas at the earliest practical period are great American measures, which this convention recommends to the cordial support of the Democracy of the Union.

The platform was adopted without amendment.

The first ballot for president resulted as follows:

Lewis Cass, Michigan	83
Richard M. Johnson, Kentucky	24
Martin Van Buren, New York	146
Scattering	13

After the seventh ballot (which stood, Cass 123, Van Buren 99, Buchanan 22, and Johnson 21) an Ohio delegate moved a resolution declaring that Martin Van Buren, having received a majority of votes on the first ballot, be declared the candidate. The point of order was made that this would require a two-thirds vote, as it rescinded an order of the convention, which point was sustained. An appeal was taken, debated at some length, and then withdrawn.

The eighth ballot resulted: Cass, 114; Van Buren, 104; and Polk, 44; the first appearance of a "dark horse" in a national convention of either party. The ninth ballot was then commenced, but not regularly completed, as a "stampede" occurred, delegation after delegation changing its vote to Polk, who received the entire vote of the convention (266). The convention then took a recess.

At the afternoon session Silas Wright of New York was nominated on the first ballot for vice-president, receiving 258 votes to 8 cast for Levi Woodbury of New Hampshire. Senator Wright immediately telegraphed from Washington his declination of the nomination and followed it with a peremptory letter of refusal.

The following morning the convention proceeded to ballot for vice-president, and on the second ballot George M. Dallas of Pennsylvania was chosen, receiving 220 votes to 30 for Governor Fairfield of Maine, and 6 for Levi Woodbury of New Hampshire.

A formal resolution naming Polk and Dallas as the party candidates was adopted, to which was added a resolution of eulogy on Martin Van Buren, especially for the "inflexible fidelity with which he had maintained the true doctrines of the constitution and the measures of the Democratic party during his trying and nobly arduous administration," and declared that "in the memorable struggle of 1840, he fell a martyr to the great principles of which he was a worthy representative." The popular vote resulted as follows:

	POLK.
James K. Polk, Tennessee	1,337,243
Henry Clay, Kentucky	1,299,062
James G. Birney, New York	62,300

The electoral vote was cast as follows:

	POLK.		
Maine	9	Louisiana	6
New Hampshire	6	Missouri	7
New York	36	Arkansas	3
Pennsylvania	26	Michigan	5
Virginia	17	Indiana	12
South Carolina	9	Illinois	9
Georgia	10		
Alabama	9	Total	170
Mississippi	6		

CLAY.

Vermont	6	North Carolina	11
Massachusetts	12	Kentucky	12
Rhode Island	4	Tennessee	13
Connecticut	6	Ohio	23
New Jersey	7		
Delaware	3	Total	105
Maryland	8		

FIFTH NATIONAL CONVENTION.

Held at Baltimore, Md., May 22-26, 1848—Cass and Butler the Nominees.

The Fifth Democratic national convention was called to order at Baltimore, Md., May 22, 1848, by W. D. Laxshaw of Illinois, chairman of the national committee. Col. James G. Bryce of Louisiana was made temporary chairman, and ex-speaker Andrew Stevenson of Virginia permanent president. The rules of the convention of 1844 were adopted, the two-thirds rule by yeas 175, nays 78. A bitter contest over the New York delegation began immediately, which ended in the adoption of an amendment, by yeas 126, nays 124, admitting both contesting delegations—"Hunkers" and "Barn-Burners"—the two to have only the vote to which New York was entitled. Although this was a virtual triumph for the "Barn-Burners," they refused, as did the "Hunkers," to take part in the proceedings.

The convention then proceeded to ballot for president with the following result:

Lewis Cass, Michigan	125
James Buchanan, Pennsylvania	55
Levi Woodbury, New Hampshire	53
Scattering	18

A second and a third ballot were taken without result, and on the fourth ballot the vote stood:

Cass	179	Buchanan	23
Woodbury	38	Scattering	4

Changes were then made, the final result standing: Cass, 242; Woodbury, 8; Buchanan, 4.

A recess was then taken and in the evening a nomination of a candidate for vice-president was made on the second ballot, which stood as follows:

William O. Butler, Kentucky	179
John A. Quitman, Mississippi	54
James J. McKay, North Carolina	11
William R. King, Alabama	9

On the fifth and last day the following platform was adopted:

1. *Resolved*, That the American Democracy place their trust in the intelligence, the patriotism, and the discriminating justice of the American people.

2. *Resolved*, That we regard this as a distinctive feature of our political creed, which we are proud to maintain before the world as the great moral

element in a form of government springing up from and upheld by the popular will, and contrasted with the creed and practice of federalism, under whatever name or form, which seeks to palsy the will of the constituent and which receives no imposture too monstrous for the popular credulity.

3. *Resolved*, Therefore, that entertaining these views, the Democratic party of this Union, through the delegates assembled in general convention of the States, coming together in a spirit of concord, of devotion to the doctrines and faith of a free representative government, and appealing to their fellow citizens for the rectitude of their intentions, renew and reassert before the American people, the declaration of principles avowed by them on a former occasion, when, in general convention, they presented their candidates for the popular suffrage.

Resolutions 1, 2, 3 and 4, of the platform of 1840, were reaffirmed. (See Democratic platform of 1840.)

8. *Resolved*, That it is the duty of every branch of the government to enforce and practice the most rigid economy in conducting our public affairs, and that no more revenue ought to be raised than is required to defray the necessary expenses of the government and for the gradual but certain extinction of the debt created by the prosecution of a just and necessary war.

Resolution 5 of the platform of 1840 was enlarged by the following:

And that the results of Democratic legislation in this and all other financial measures upon which issues have been made between the two political parties of the country have demonstrated to careful and practical men of all parties their soundness, safety and utility in all business pursuits.

Resolutions 7, 8 and 9 of the platform of 1840 were here inserted. (See Democratic platform of 1840.)

13. *Resolved*, That the proceeds of the public lands ought to be sacredly applied to the national object specified in the constitution, and that we are opposed to any law for the distribution of such proceeds among the States as alike inexpedient in policy and repugnant to the constitution.

14. *Resolved*, That we are decidedly opposed to taking from the president the qualified veto power, by which he is enabled, under restrictions and responsibilities amply sufficient to guard the public interests, to suspend the passage of a bill whose merits cannot secure the approval of two-thirds of the Senate and House of Representatives, until the judgment of the people can be obtained thereon, and which has saved the American people from the corrupt and tyrannical domination of the Bank of the United States and from a corrupting system of general internal improvements.

15. *Resolved*, That the war with Mexico, provoked on her part by years of insult and injury, was commenced by her army crossing the Rio Grande, attacking the American troops, and invading our sister State of Texas, and upon all the principles of patriotism and laws of nations it is a just and necessary war on our part, in which every American citizen should have showed himself on the side of his country, and neither morally nor physically, by word or by deed, have given "aid and comfort to the enemy."

16. *Resolved*, That we should be rejoiced at the assurance of peace with Mexico, founded on the just principles of indemnity for the past and security for the future; but that while the ratification of the liberal treaty offered to Mexico remains in doubt it is the duty of the country to sustain the administration and to sustain the country in every measure necessary to provide for the vigorous prosecution of the war, should that treaty be rejected.

17. *Resolved*, That the officers and soldiers who have carried the arms of their country into Mexico have crowned it with imperishable glory. Their unconquerable courage, their daring enterprise, their unfaltering perseverance and fortitude when assailed on all sides by innumerable foes and that more formidable enemy—the diseases of the climate—exalt their devoted patriotism into the highest heroism, and give them a right to the profound gratitude of their country and the admiration of the world.

18. *Resolved*, That the Democratic national convention of the thirty States composing the American Republic tender their fraternal congratula-

tions to the national convention of the Republic of France, now assembled as the free suffrage representative of the sovereignty of thirty-five millions of Republicans, to establish government on those eternal principles of equal rights for which their Lafayette and our Washington fought side by side in the struggle for our national independence; and we would especially convey to them, and to the whole people of France, our earnest wishes for the consolidation of their liberties, through the wisdom that shall guide their councils on the basis of a Democratic constitution not derived from grants or concessions of kings or dynasties, but originating from the only true source of political power recognized in the States of this Union—the inherent and inalienable right of the people, in their sovereign capacity, to make and amend their forms of government in such manner as the welfare of the community may require.

22. *Resolved*, That the confidence of the Democracy of the Union in the principles, capacity, firmness, and integrity of James K. Polk, manifested by his nomination and election of 1844, has been signally justified by the strictness of his adherence to sound Democratic doctrines by the purity of purpose, the energy and ability which have characterized his administration in all our affairs at home and abroad; that we tender to him our cordial congratulations upon the brilliant success which has hitherto crowned his patriotic efforts, and assure him that at the expiration of his presidential term he will carry with him to his retirement the esteem, respect and admiration of a grateful country.

Resolved, That this convention hereby present to the people of the United States, Lewis Cass of Michigan, as the candidate for the Democratic party for the office of president, and William O. Butler of Kentucky, for vice president of the United States.

The popular vote resulted as follows:

Zachary Taylor, Louisiana	1,360,099
Lewis Cass, Michigan	1,220,544
Martin Van Buren, New York	291,263

The electoral vote was cast as follows:

TAYLOR.

Vermont	6	North Carolina	11
Massachusetts	12	Georgia	10
Rhode Island	4	Florida	3
Connecticut	6	Louisiana	6
New York	36	Tennessee	13
New Jersey	7	Kentucky	12
Pennsylvania	26		
Delaware	3	Total	163
Maryland	8		

CASS.

Maine	9	Ohio	23
New Hampshire	6	Michigan	5
Virginia	17	Indiana	12
South Carolina	9	Illinois	9
Alabama	9	Wisconsin	4
Mississipi	6	Iowa	4
Texas	4		
Arkansas	3	Total	127
Missouri	7		

South Carolina elected by legislature, and there being no choice by the people in Massachusetts, its legislature chose Taylor electors.

SIXTH NATIONAL CONVENTION.

Held at Baltimore, Md., June 1-4, 1852—Pierce and King the Nominees.

The Sixth National convention was called to order by B. F. Hallett of Massachusetts. Romulus M. Saunders of North Carolina was made temporary chairman, and John W. Davies of Indiana (ex-speaker) permanent president. The rules of the last convention were adopted with slight changes, the two-thirds rule being retained by an overwhelming majority.

The platform was reported by Aaron V. Brown of Tennessee from the committee on resolutions and adopted without amendment or substantial opposition as follows:

Resolutions 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6 and 7, of the platform of 1848 (see Democratic platform of 1848) were reaffirmed, to which were added the following:

8. *Resolved*, That it is the duty of every branch of the government to enforce and practice the most rigid economy in conducting our public affairs, and that no more revenue ought to be raised than is required to defray the necessary expenses of the government and for the gradual but certain extinction of the public debt.

9. *Resolved*, That congress has no power to charter a national bank; that we believe such an institution one of deadly hostility to the best interests of the country, dangerous to our republican institutions and the liberties of the people, and calculated to place the business of the country within the control of a concentrated money power, and that above the laws and will of the people; and that the results of Democratic legislation in this and all other financial measures upon which issues have been made between the two political parties of the country have demonstrated to candid and practical men of all parties their soundness, safety, and utility in all business pursuits.

10. *Resolved*, That the separations of the moneys of the government from banking institutions is indispensable for the safety of the funds of the government and the rights of the people.

11. *Resolved*, That the liberal principles embodied by Jefferson in the Declaration of Independence, and sanctioned in the constitution, which make ours the land of liberty and the asylum of the oppressed of every nation, have ever been cardinal principles in the Democratic faith; and every attempt to abridge the privilege of becoming citizens and the owners of the soil among us ought to be resisted with the same spirit that swept the alien and sedition laws from our statute books.

12. *Resolved*, That congress has no power under the constitution, to interfere with or control the domestic institutions of the several States, and that such States are the sole and proper judges of everything appertaining to their own affairs not prohibited by the constitution; that all efforts of the Abolitionists or others made to induce congress to interfere with questions of slavery, or to take incipient steps in relation thereto, are calculated to lead to the most alarming and dangerous consequences; and that all such efforts have an inevitable tendency to diminish the happiness of the people and endanger the stability and permanency of the Union, and ought not to be countenanced by any friend of our politcal institutions.

13. *Resolved*, That the foregoing proposition covers, and is intended to embrace, the whole subject of slavery agitation in congress; and therefore the Democratic party of the Union, standing on this national platform, will abide by and adhere to a faithful execution of the acts known as the compromise measure settled by the last congress—"the act for reclaiming fugitives from service labor" included; which act, being designed to carry out an express provision of the constitution, cannot, with fidelity thereto, be repealed nor so changed as to destroy or impair its efficiency.

14. *Resolved*, That the Democratic party will resist all attempts at

renewing in congress or out of it the agitation of the slavery question under whatever shape or color the attempt may be made.

(Here resolutions 13 and 14 of the platform of 1848 were inserted.)

17. *Resolved*, That the Democratic party will faithfully abide by and uphold the principles laid down in the Kentucky and Virginia resolutions of 1792 and 1798, and in the report of Mr. Madison to the Virginia legislature in 1799; that it adopts those principles as constituting one of the main foundations of its political creed, and is resolved to carry them out in their obvious meaning and import.

18. *Resolved*, That the war with Mexico upon all the principles of patriotism and the law of nations was a just and necessary war on our part in which no American citizen should have shown himself opposed to his country, and neither morally nor physically, by word or deed, given aid and comfort to the enemy.

19. *Resolved*, That we rejoice at the restoration of friendly relations with our sister Republic of Mexico, and earnestly desire for her all the blessings and the prosperity which we enjoy under republican institutions, and we congratulate the American people on the results of that war which have so manifestly justified the policy and conduct of the Democratic party and insured to the United States indemnity for the past and security for the future.

20. *Resolved*, That, in view of the condition of popular institutions in the old world, a high and sacred duty is devolved with increased responsibility upon the Democracy of this country, as the party of the people, to uphold and maintain the rights of every State, and thereby the union of States, and to sustain and advance among them constitutional liberty by continuing to resist all monopolies and exclusive legislation for the benefit of the few at the expense of the many, and by a vigilant and constant adherence to those principles and compromises of the constitution which are broad enough and strong enough to embrace and uphold the Union as it is, and the Union as it should be, in the full expansion of the energies and capacity of this great and progressive people.

The convention then proceeded to ballot for a candidate for president, the first ballot resulting as follows:

Lewis Cass, Michigan	116
James Buchanan, Pennsylvania	93
William L. Marcey, New York	27
Stephen A. Douglas, Illinois	20
Scattering	36
Necessary to a choice	168

In the succeeding ballots the votes for Mr. Cass fell off, until on the twenty-ninth ballot the vote stood Cass 27, Buchanan 93, Douglas 91. On the thirty-first ballot Mr. Cass received his highest number, 131. On the thirty-fourth ballot Franklin Pierce of New Hampshire received one vote, and on the thirty-sixth ballot Virginia cast fifteen votes for him, his vote steadily increasing until on the forty-ninth ballot there was a stampede to him, the ballot resulting 282 for Pierce and six scattering.

The convention then proceeded to ballot for a candidate for vice-president, resulting as follows:

William R. King, Alabama	125
S. U. Downs, Louisiana	30
John B. Weller, California	28
David R. Atchison, Missouri	25
Gideon J. Pillow, Tennessee	25

Robert Strange, North Carolina	23
William O. Butler, Kentucky	13
Thomas J. Rusk, Texas	13
Jefferson Davis	2
Howell Cobb	2

On the second ballot William R. King was unanimously nominated.

The popular vote resulted as follows:

Franklin Pierce, New Hampshire	1,601,274
Winfield Scott, New York	1,386,580
John P. Hale, New Hampshire	155,825

The electoral vote resulted in Pierce receiving 254, and Scott 42 votes from four States—viz.: Vermont, 5; Massachusetts, 13; Tennessee, 12; and Kentucky, 12.

SEVENTH NATIONAL CONVENTION.

Held at Cincinnati, June 2-6, 1856—Buchanan and Breckinridge the Nominees.

The Seventh Democratic national convention was called to order at Cincinnati, O., June 2, 1856, by Robert McLane of Maryland, chairman of the Democratic national committee. Samuel Medary of Ohio was made temporary chairman and John E. Ward of New Jersey permanent president.

John L. Dawson, from the committee on rules, reported the rules of the convention of 1852 and the same were adopted without contest.

The contesting delegation from New York known as the "hards" and "softs" were both admitted, each delegate to have half a vote. The first ballot for a candidate for president resulted as follows:

James Buchanan, Pennsylvania	135½
Franklin Pierce, New Hampshire	122½
Stephen A. Douglas, Illinois	33
Lewis Cass	5

On this vote the Southern States gave 72 to Pierce, 29 to Buchanan, and 14 to Douglas. The North gave 106 to Buchanan, 50 to Pierce, 19 to Douglas, and 5 to Cass. On the sixteenth ballot the vote stood 168 for Buchanan, 122 for Douglas, and 6 for Cass, and on the seventeenth ballot delegations commenced changing in Mr. Buchanan's favor, and he received the full vote of the convention—296.

There were ten candidates voted for for vice-president, viz.:

John A. Quitman, Mississippi	59
John C. Breckinridge, Kentucky	51
Linn Boyd, Kentucky	33
Herschel V. Johnson, Georgia	31
James A. Bayard, Delaware	31
Aaron V. Brown, Tennessee	29
Benjamin F. Butler, New York	27
Scattering	36

On the second ballot the names of most of the leading candidates were withdrawn and Mr. Breckinridge nominated by acclamation.

The platform, which was reported by Mr. Hallett of Massachusetts, was adopted without opposition. It began with the preamble first adopted in 1844, and repeated in subsequent platforms, followed by five of the resolutions of previous platforms (the first five of 1840 in order), and that relating to proceeds of the public lands; against a national bank; in favor of an independent treasury; regarding the veto power, and against the abridgement of the privileges of aliens to become citizens.

The entire platform is as follows:

Resolved, That the American Democracy place their trust in the intelligence, the patriotism, and the discriminating justice of the American people.

2. *Resolved*, That we regard this as a distinctive feature of our political creed, which we are proud to maintain before the world as the great moral element in a form of government springing from and upheld by the popular will; and we contrast it with the creed and practice of federalism, under whatever name or form, which seeks to palsy the will of the constituent, and which conceives no imposture too monstrous for the popular credulity.

3. *Resolved*, therefore, That, entertaining these views, the Democratic party of this Union, through their delegates assembled in a general convention of the States, coming together in a spirit of concord, of devotion to the doctrines and faith of a free representative government, and appealing to their fellow-citizens for the rectitude of their intentions, renew and reassert before the American people the declarations of principles avowed by them when, on former occasions, in general convention, they presented their candidates for the popular suffrage:

1. That the federal government is one of limited power, derived solely from the constitution; and the grants of power made therein ought to be strictly construed by all the departments and agents of the government; and that it is inexpedient and dangerous to exercise doubtful constitutional powers.

2. That the constitution does not confer upon the general government the power to commence and carry on a general system of internal improvements.

3. That the constitution does not confer authority upon the federal government, directly or indirectly, to assume the debts of the several States, contracted for local and internal improvements, or other State purposes; nor would such assumption be just or expedient.

4. That justice and sound policy forbid the federal government to foster one branch of industry to the detriment of any other, or to cherish the interests of one portion to the injury of another portion of our common country; that every citizen and every section of the country has a right to demand and insist upon an equality of rights and privileges, and to complete and ample protection of persons and property from domestic violence or foreign aggression.

5. That it is the duty of every branch of the government to enforce and practice the most rigid economy in conducting our public affairs, and that no more revenue ought to be raised than is required to defray the necessary expenses of the government, and for the gradual but certain extinction of the public debt.

6. That the proceeds of the public lands ought to be sacredly applied to the national objects specified in the constitution; and that we are opposed to any law for the distribution of such proceeds among the States, as alike inexpedient in policy and repugnant to the constitution.

7. That congress has no power to charter a national bank; that we believe such an institution one of deadly hostility to the best interests of the country, dangerous to our republican institutions and the liberties of the people, and calculated to place the business of the country within the control of a concentrated money power and above the laws and the will of the people; and that the results of Democratic legislation in this and all other financial measures upon which issues have been made between the two political parties of the country have demonstrated to candid and practical men of all parties their soundness, safety and utility in all business pursuits.

8. That the separation of the moneys of the government from banking institutions is indispensable for the safety of the funds of the government and the rights of the people.

9. That we are decidedly opposed to taking from the president the qualified veto power, by which he is enabled, under restrictions and responsibilities amply sufficient to guard the public interests, to suspend the passage of a bill whose merits cannot secure the approval of two-thirds of the Senate and House of Representatives, until the judgment of the people can be obtained thereon, and which has saved the American people from the corrupt and tyrannical domination of the bank of the United States, and from a corrupting system of general internal improvements.

10. That the liberal principles embodied by Jefferson in the Declaration of Independence and sactioned in the constitution, which makes ours a land of liberty and the asylum of the oppressed of every nation, have ever been cardinal principles in the Democratic faith, and every attempt to abridge the privilege of becoming citizens and the owners of soil among us ought to be resisted with the same spirit which swept the alien and sedition laws from our statute books; and

WHEREAS, Since the foregoing declaration was uniformly adopted by our predecessors in national conventions an adverse political and religious test has been secretly organized by a party claiming to be exclusively American, it is proper that the American Democracy should clearly define its relation thereto, and declare its determined opposition to all secret political societies by whatever name they may be called.

Resolved, That the foundation of this Union of States having been laid in —and its prosperity, expansion, and pre-eminent example in free government built upon—entire freedom in matters of religious concernment and no respect of person in regard to rank or place of birth, no party can justly be deemed national, constitutional, or in accordance with the American principles which basis its exclusive organization upon religious opinions and accidental birthplace. And hence a political crusade in the nineteenth century and in the United States of America against Catholic and foreign-born is neither justified by the past history or the future prospects of the country, nor in unison with the spirit of toleration and enlarged freedom which peculiarly distinguishes the American system of popular government.

Resolved, That we reiterate with renewed energy of purpose the well-considered declarations of former conventions upon the sectional issue of domestic slavery and concerning the reserved rights of the States:

1. That congress has no power under the constitution to interfere with or control the domestic institutions of the several States and that such States are the sole and proper judges of everything appertaining to their own affairs not prohibited by the constitution; that all efforts of the Abolitionists or others, made to induce congress to interfere with questions of slavery, or to take incipient steps in relation thereto, are calculated to lead to the most alarming and dangerous consequences; and that all such efforts have an inevitable tendency to diminish the happiness of the people and endanger the stability and permanency of the Union, and ought not to be countenanced by any friend of our political institutions.

2. That the foregoing proposition covers and was intended to embrace the whole subject of slavery agitation in congress; and therefore, the Democratic party of the Union, standing on this national platform, will abide by and adhere to a faithful execution of the acts known as the compromise measures, settled by the congress of 1850; "the act for reclaiming fugitives from service or labor," included; which act, being designed to carry out an express provision of the constitution, cannot, with fidelity thereto, be repealed or so changed as to destroy or impair its efficiency.

3. That the Democratic party will resist all attempts at renewing, in congress or out of it, the agitation of the slavery question under whatever shape or color the attempt may be made.

4. That the Democratic party will faithfully abide by and uphold the principles laid down in the Kentucky and Virginia resolutions of 1798, and in the report of Mr. Madison to the Virginia legislature in 1799; that it adopts those principles as constituting one of the main foundations of its political creed, and is resolved to carry them out in their obvious meaning and import.

And that we may more distinctly meet the issue on which a sectional party, subsisting exclusively on slavery agitation, now relies to test the fidelity of the people North and South to the constitution and the Union—

1. *Resolved*, That claiming fellowship with and desiring the co-operation of all who regard the preservation of the Union under the constitution as the paramount issue, and repudiating all sectional parties and platforms concerning domestic slavery which seek to embroil the States and incite to treason and armed resistance to law in the Territories, and whose avowed purposes if consummated must end in civil war and disunion, the American Democracy recognize and adopt the principles contained in the organic laws establishing the Territories of Kansas and Nebraska as embodying the only sound and safe solution of the "slavery question" upon which the great national idea of the people of this whole country can repose in its determined conservatism of the Union—non-interference by congress with slavery in State and Territory, nor in the District of Columbia.

2. That was the basis of the compromise of 1850—confirmed by both the Democratic and Whig parties in national conventions—ratified by the people in the election of 1852—and rightly applied to the organization of Territories in 1854.

3. That by the uniform application of this Democratic principle to the organization of Territories and to the admission of new States, with or without domestic slavery, as they may elect—the equal rights of all the States will be preserved intact—the original compacts of the constitution maintained inviolate—and the perpetuity and expansion of this Union insured to its utmost capacity of embracing, in peace and harmony, every future American State that may be constituted or annexed, with a republican form of government.

Resolved, That we recognize the right of the people of all the Territories, including Kansas and Nebraska, acting through the legally and fairly expressed will of a majority of actual residents, and whenever the number of their inhabitants justifies it, to form a constitution with or without domestic slavery, and be admitted into the Union upon terms of perfect equality with the other States.

Resolved, finally, That, in the view of the condition of popular institutions in the Old World (and the dangerous tendencies of sectional agitation, combined with the attempt to force civil and religious disabilities against the rights of acquiring and enjoying citizenship in our own land), a high and sacred duty is developed with increased responsibility upon the Democratic party of this country, as the party of the Union, to uphold and maintain the rights of every State, and thereby the union of the States; and to sustain and

advance among us constitutional liberties by continuing to resist all monopolies and exclusive legislation for the benefit of the few at the expense of the many, and by a vigilant and constant adherence to those principles and compromises of the constitution which are broad enough and strong enough to embrace and uphold the Union as it was, the Union as it is, and the Union as it shall be, in the full expansion of the energies and capacity of this great and progressive people.

1. *Resolved*, That there are questions connected with the foreign policy of this country which are inferior to no domestic question whatever. The time has come for the people of the United States to declare themselves in favor of free seas and progressive free trade throughout the world, and, by solemn manifestations, to place their moral influence at the side of their successful example.

2 *Resolved*, That our geographical and political position with reference to the other States of this continent, no less than the interest of our commerce and the development of our growing power, requires that we should hold as sacred the principles involved in the Monroe doctrine; their bearing and import admit of no misconstruction; they should be applied with unbending rigidity.

3. *Resolved*, That the great highway which nature, as well as the assent of the States most immediately interested in its maintenance, has marked out for a free communication between the Atlantic and Pacific oceans constitutes one of the most important achievements realized by the spirit of modern times and the unconquerable energy of our people. That result should be secured by a timely and efficient exertion of the control which we have the right to claim over it, and no power on earth should be suffered to impede or clog its progress by any interference with the relations it may suit our policy to establish between our government and the governments of the States within whose dominions it lies. We can, under no circumstance, surrender our preponderance in the adjustment of all questions arising out of it.

4. *Resolved*, That in view of so commanding an interest, the people of the United States cannot but sympathize with the efforts which are being made by the people of Central America to regenerate that portion of the continent which covers the passage across the inter-ocean isthmus.

5. *Resolved*, That the Democratic party will expect of the next administration that every proper effort be made to insure our ascendency in the Gulf of Mexico and to maintain a permanent protection to the great outlets through which are emptied into its waters the products raised out of the soil and the commodities created by the industry of the people of our Western valleys and the Union at large.

Resolved, That the Democratic party recognizes the great importance, in a political and commercial point of view, of a safe and speedy communication, by military and postal roads, through our own territory, between the Atlantic and Pacific coasts of the Union, and that it is the duty of the federal government to exercise promptly all its constitutional power for the attainment of that object.

Resolved, That the administration of Franklin Pierce has been true to the great interests of the country. In the face of most determined opposition it has maintained the laws, enforced economy, fostered progress, and infused integrity and valor into every department of the government at home. It has signally improved our treaty relations, extended the field of commercial enterprise, and vindicated the rights of American citizens abroad. It has asserted with eminent impartiality the just claims of every section, and has at all times been faithful to the constitution. We therefore proclaim our unqualified approbation of its measures and its policy.

The following is the popular and electoral vote cast:

STATES.	POPULAR.			ELECTORAL.		
	Buchanan, Democrat.	Fremont, Republican.	Fillmore, Whig.	Buchanan.	Fremont.	Fillmore.
Alabama	46,739	.....	28,552	9	.....	.....
Arkansas	21,910	.....	10,787	4	.....	.....
California	53,365	20,691	36,165	4	.....	.....
Connecticut	34,995	42,715	2,615	.....	6	.....
Delaware	8,004	308	6,175	3	.....	.....
Florida	6,358	.....	4,833	3	.....	.....
Georgia	56,578	.....	42,228	10	.....	.....
Illinois	105,348	96,189	37,444	11	.....	.....
Indiana	118,670	94,375	22,386	13	.....	.....
Iowa	36,170	43,974	9,180	.....	4	.....
Kentucky	74,662	314	67,416	12	.....	.....
Louisiana	22,124	.....	20,709	6	.....	.....
Maine	39,080	67,379	3,325	.....	8	.....
Maryland	39,115	281	47,460	.....	.....	8
Massachusetts	39,240	108,190	19,626	.....	13	.....
Michigan	52,136	71,762	1,660	.....	6	.....
Mississippi	35,446	.....	24,195	7	.....	.....
Missouri	58,164	.....	48,524	9	.....	.....
New Hampshire	32,789	38,345	422	....	5	.....
New Jersey	46,943	28,338	24,115	7	.....	.....
New York	195,878	276,007	124,604	.....	35	.....
North Carolina	48,246	.....	36,886	10	.....	.....
Ohio	170,874	187,497	28,126	.....	23	.....
Pennsylvania	230,710	147,510	82,175	27	.....	.....
Rhode Island	6,680	11,467	1,675	.....	4	.....
South Carolina	.....	.....	.....	8	.....	.....
Tennessee	73,638	.....	66,178	12	.....	.....
Texas	31,169	.....	15,639	4	.....	.....
Vermont	10,569	39,561	545	.....	5	.....
Virginia	89,706	291	60,310	15	.....	.....
Wisconsin	52,843	66,090	579	.....	5	.....
Total	1,838,169	1,341,264	874,534	174	114	8

EIGHTH NATIONAL CONVENTION.

Held at Charleston, S. C., April 23-May 3, 1860—Baltimore, Md., June 18, 1860—Douglas and Johnson.

The Eighth National convention of the Democratic party convened at Charleston, S. C., April 23, 1860. It was called to order by David A. Smalley of Vermont, chairman of the Democratic national committee. Francis B. Flournoy of Arkansas was made temporary chairman and Caleb Cushing of Massachusetts permanent president.

The rules of the last national convention were adopted without contest, on motion of John Cochrane of New York.

A bitter contest commenced as soon as the temporary chairman had taken his seat, the principal cause being the action of the national committee which had favored the Douglas delegates and shut out their opponents. The usual committees were appointed and a resolu-

tion adopted not to vote for candidates until a platform had been adopted. The third day was occupied in settling questions of contested seats. The principal points being in favor of the New York "Softs" and the Douglas delegates from Illinois.

On April 27 the committee on resolutions reported, there being three minority reports. After two days of fierce debate and votes on amendments, the entire subject was recommitted to the committee on resolutions, an amendment of instructions offered by Senator Bigler being rejected. Later in the day the committee reported back a series of resolutions taking the Southern views of the question as to slavery in the Territories, which were subsequently adopted by the convention of seceders, and are hereafter given.

Gen. B. F. Butler of Massachusetts presented a minority report, which was the Cincinnati platform of 1856 without change. A long debate followed and on the 30th, Gen. Butler's platform was rejected by yeas 105, nays 198. The minority resolutions offered by Mr. Samuels of Iowa were then adopted by yeas 165, nays 138.

The several resolutions were then considered singly and with the exception of the second (which was rejected), were adopted by an almost unanimous vote. Thereupon several of the southern delegates withdrew, including the entire Alabama, Florida, Mississippi and Texas delegations, all but two from Louisiana, all but three from South Carolina, three from Arkansas, two from Delaware and one from North Carolina, who joined the "Seceders." The following day (May 1) twenty-six of the thirty-three delegates from Georgia also withdrew. The convention then proceeded to ballot for a candidate for president, having previously decided that two-thirds of a full convention (that is, 202 votes) should be necessary for a choice.

The Balloting.

The first ballot resulted as follows:

Stephen A. Douglas of Illinois	145½
R. M. T. Hunt of Virginia	42
James Guthrie of Kentucky	35
Andrew Johnson of Tennessee	12
Daniel S. Dickinson of New York	7
Joseph Lane of Oregon	6
Isaac Tracy of Connecticut	2½
Jefferson Davis of Mississippi	1½
Franklin Pierce of New Hampshire	1

On that and the following day fifty-seven ballots were taken without result, the last standing:

Douglas	151½	Lane	14
Guthrie	65½	Dickinson	4
Hunter	16	Davis	1

May 3—the tenth day of the convention—a resolution was adopted to adjourn to meet in Baltimore June 18, with the recommendation that the vacancies occasioned by seceding delegations be filled.

The convention reassembled June 18 at Baltimore. Mr. Cushing, the president of the convention, made a long address, stating that the adoption of the platform was open to reconsideration. Three days were occupied in filling the vacancies, some of the "seceders" at Charleston applying for readmission. The general action of the convention was favorable to Mr. Douglas, and thereupon a part of the Virginia delegation withdrew, their example being followed by most of the remaining members from the Southern States. A few members from Northern States also withdrew, among them Caleb Cushing, president of the convention, whose place was filled by the election of Governor Tod of Ohio.

The convention then balloted for president, with the following result:

Douglas	173½
Guthrie	10
Breckinridge	5
Scattering	3

A resolution offered by Mr. Sanford E. Church of New York declaring that Mr. Douglas, having received two-thirds of the vote of the convention was the regular nominee, was ruled in order, debated, and then withdrawn. Another ballot was taken, on which Mr. Douglas received 181½; Breckinridge, 7½; and Guthrie, 5½ votes.

The resolution of Mr. Church was reintroduced and passed.

Benjamin Fitzpatrick of Alabama was then nominated for vice-president on the first vote with substantial unanimity.

An additional resolution was added to the platform, which is as follows:

Resolved, That we, the Democracy of the Union in convention assembled, do hereby declare our affirmance of the resolution unanimously adopted and declared as a platform of the principles by the Democratic convention in Cincinnati in the year 1856, believing that the Democratic principles are unchangeable in their nature when applied to the same subject matters, and we recommend as the only further resolutions, the following: Inasmuch as differences of opinion exist in the Democratic party as to the nature and extent of the powers of a Territorial legislature, and as to the powers and duties of congress under the constitution of the United States over the institution of slavery within the Territories.

Resolved, That the Democratic party will abide by the decisions of the supreme court of the United States on the questions of constitutional law.

Resolved, That it is the duty of the United States to afford ample and complete protection to all its citizens, whether at home or abroad, and whether native or foreign.

Resolved, That one of the necessities of the age, in a military, commercial and postal point of view, is speedy communication between the Atlantic and Pacific States; and the Democratic party pledge such constitutional government aid as will insure the construction of a railroad to the Pacific coast at the earliest practicable period.

Resolved, That the Democratic party are in favor of the acquisition of the Island of Cuba on such terms as shall be honorable to ourselves and just to Spain.

Resolved, That the enactment of State legislatures to defeat the faithful

execution of the fugitive slave law are hostile in character, subversive of the constitution, and revolutionary in their effect.

Resolved, That it is in accordance with the true interpretation of the Cincinnati platform that during the existence of the Territorial governments, the measure of restriction, whatever it may be, imposed by the federal constitution on the power of Territorial legislature over the subject of the domestic relations as the same has been, or shall hereafter be, finally determined by the supreme court of the United States, should be respected by all good citizens and enforced with promptness and fidelity by every branch of the general government.

Mr. Fitzpatrick declined the nomination and Herschel V. Johnson of Mississippi was substituted in his place by the national committee.

The "Seceders'" Convention.

The "seceders" from the regular convention met in another hall in Charleston and organized, Senator James A. Bayard of Delaware being elected president, and adopted the following platform reported by the majority of the committee on resolutions of the national convention, viz.:

Resolved, That the platform adopted by the Democratic party at Cincinnati be affirmed, with the following explanatory resolutions:

1. That the government of a Territory organized by an act of congress is provisional and temporary, and during its existence all citizens of the United States have an equal right to settle with their property in the Territory, without their rights either of person or property, being destroyed or impaired by congressional or Territorial legislation.

2. That it is the duty or the federal government, in all its departments, to protect, when necessary, the rights of persons and property in the Territories, and wherever else its constitutional authority extends.

3. That when the settlers in a Territory, having an adequate population, form a State constitution, the right of sovereignty commences, and, being consummated by admission into the Union, they stand on an equal footing with the people of other States; and the State thus organized ought to be admitted into the federal Union, whether its constitution prohibits or recognizes the institution of slavery.

4. That the Democratic party are in favor of the acquisition of the island of Cuba on such terms as shall be honorable to ourselves and just to Spain, at the earliest practicable moment.

5. That the enactments of the State legislatures to defeat the faithful execution of the fugitive slave law are hostile in character, subversive of the constitution, and revolutionary in their effect.

6. The Democracy of the United States recognize it as the imperative duty of this government to protect the naturalized citizen in all his rights, whether at home or in foreign lands, to the same extent as its native-born citizens.

WHEREAS, One of the greatest necessities of the age, in a political, commercial, postal, and military point of view, is a speedy communication between the Pacific and Atlantic coasts; therefore, be it

Resolved, That the national Democratic party do hereby pledge themselves to use every means in their power to secure the passage of some bill, to the extent of the constitutional authority of congress, for the construction of a Pacific railroad from the Mississippi river to the Pacific ocean at the earliest practicable moment.

After a four-days' session, the convention adjourned to meet at Richmond, Va., June 11. On reassembling John Erwin of Alabama

was made president, and a resolution adopted to adjourn until the 21st. The convention met on that day and adjourned from day to day, finally assembling at Baltimore, June 28.

Twenty-one States were represented in whole or in part, no delegates being present from the States of Maine, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New Jersey, South Carolina, Ohio, Michigan, Indiana, Illinois, Iowa and Wisconsin.

It readopted the foregoing platform, and by a unanimous vote in each case, nominated John C. Breckinridge of Kentucky for president and Joseph Lane of Oregon for vice-president, and adjourned sine die.

The popular and electoral vote was cast as follows:

STATES.	POPULAR.				ELECTORAL.			
	Lincoln, Republican.	Douglas, Northern Democrat.	Breckenridge, Southern Democrat.	Bell, Constitutional Union.	Lincoln.	Douglas.	Breckenridge	Bell.
Alabama	.....	13,651	48,831	27,875	.....	.....	9	.....
Arkansas	.....	5,227	28,732	20,094	.....	.....	4	.....
California	39,173	38,516	34,334	6,817	4	.....	.....	.....
Connecticut	43,692	15,522	14,641	3,291	6	.....	.....	.....
Delaware	3,815	1,023	7,347	3,864	.....	.....	3	.....
Florida	.....	367	8,543	5,437	.....	.....	3	.....
Georgia	.....	11,509	51,889	42,886	.....	.....	10	.....
Illinois	172,161	160,215	2,404	3,913	11	.....	.....	.....
Indiana	139,033	115,590	12,295	5,306	13	.....	.....	.....
Iowa	70,409	55,111	1,048	1,763	4	.....	.....	.....
Kentucky	1,364	25,651	53,143	66,058	.....	.....	.....	12
Louisiana	.....	7,625	22,681	20,204	.....	.....	6	.....
Maine	62,811	26,693	6,368	2,046	8	.....	.....	.....
Maryland	2,294	5,966	42,482	41,760	.....	.....	8	.....
Massachusetts	106,533	34,372	5,939	22,231	13	.....	.....	.....
Michigan	88,480	65,057	805	405	6	.....	.....	.....
Minnesota	22,069	11,920	748	62	4	.....	.....	.....
Mississippi	.....	3,283	40,797	25,040	.....	.....	7	.....
Missouri	17,028	58,801	31,317	58,372	.....	9	.....	.....
New Hampshir	37,519	25,881	2,112	441	5	.....	.....	.....
New Jersey	58,324	62,801	.....	.....	4	3	.....	.....
New York	362,646	312,510	.....	.....	35	.....	.....	.....
North Carolina	.....	2,701	48,239	44,990	.....	.....	10	.....
Ohio	231,610	187,232	14,405	12,194	23	.....	.....	.....
Oregon	5,270	3,951	3,006	183	3	.....	.....	.....
Pennsylvania	268,030	16,765	178,871	12,776	27	.....	.....	.....
Rhode Island	12,244	7,707	.....	.....	4	.....	.....	.....
South Carolina	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	8	.....
Tennessee	.....	11,350	64,709	69,274	.....	.....	.....	12
Texas	.....	.....	47,548	15,438	.....	.....	4	.....
Vermont	33,808	6,849	1,967	218	5	.....	.....	.....
Virginia	1,929	16,290	74,323	74,681	.....	.....	.....	15
Wisconsin	86,110	65,021	888	161	5	.....	.....	.....
Total	1,866,352	1,375,157	847,514	587,830	180	12	72	39

NINTH NATIONAL CONVENTION.

Held in Chicago, Aug. 29, 1864.—McClellan and Pendleton the Nominees.

The Ninth National convention of the Democratic party was called to order by August Belmont of New York, chairman of the national committee. William Bigler of Pennsylvania was chosen temporary chairman, and Horatio Seymour of New York permanent chairman.

The rules of the national convention of 1860 were adopted, and the following platform, reported from the committee on resolutions by Mr. Guthrie of Kentucky, was adopted without amendment, viz.:

Resolved, That in the future, as in the past, we will adhere with unswerving fidelity to the Union under the constitution as the only solid foundation of our strength, security and happiness as a people, and as a framework of government equally conducive to the welfare and prosperity of all the States, both Northern and Southern.

Resolved, That this convention does explicitly declare, as the sense of the American people, that after four years of failure to restore the Union by the experiment of war, during which, under the pretense of a military necessity or war power higher than the constitution, the constitution itself has been disregarded in every part, and public liberty and private right alike trodden down, and the material prosperity of the country essentially impaired, justice, humanity, liberty and the public welfare demand that immediate efforts be made for a cessation of hostilities, with a view to the ultimate convention of the States, or other peaceable means, to the end that at the earliest practicable moment peace may be restored on the basis of the federal union of the States.

Resolved, That the direct interference of the military authorities of the United States in the recent elections held in Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri and Deleware was a shameful violation of the constitution, and a repetition of such acts in the approaching election will be held as revolutionary and resisted with all the means and power under our control.

Resolved, That the aim and object of the Democratic party is to preserve the federal union and the rights of the States unimpaired, and they hereby declare that they consider that the administrative usurpation of extraordinary and dangerous powers not granted by the constitution—the subversion of the civil by the military law in States not in insurrection; the arbitrary military arrest, imprisonment, trial and sentence of American citizens in States where civil law exists in full force; the suppression of freedom of speech and of the press; the denial of the right of asylum; the open and avowed disregard of State rights; the employment of unusual test oaths; and the interference with and denial of the right of the people to bear arms in their defense—is calculated to prevent a restoration of the Union and the perpetuation of a government deriving its just powers from the consent of the governed.

Resolved, That the shameful disregard of the administration to its duty in respect to our fellow-citizens who are now and long have been prisoners of war in a suffering condition deserves the severest reprobation on the score alike of public policy and common humanity.

Resolved, That the sympathy of the Democratic party is heartily and earnestly extended to the soldiers of our army and sailors of our navy, who are and have been in the field and on the sea under the flag of our country, and, in the event of its attaining power, they will receive all the care, protection, and regard that the brave soldiers and sailors of the republic have so nobly earned.

The convention then proceeded to nominate a candidate for president, and Gen. George B. McClellan of New Jersey was chosen on the first ballot, receiving 202½ votes to 28½ cast for Thomas H. Sey-

mour of Connecticut, the vote of Mr. Seymour coming from the "border State" delegates.

The convention then balloted for a candidate for vice-president, with the following result—viz :

Joseph Guthrie, Kentucky	65½
George H. Pendleton, Ohio	55½
L. W. Powell, Kentucky	32½
J. H. Caton, Illinois,	16
G. W. Cass, Pennsylvania	26
D. W. Voorhees, Indiana	13
John S. Phelps, Missouri	8
A. C. Dodge, Iowa	9

The names of all the candidates save that of Mr. Pendleton were then withdrawn, and Mr. Pendleton was nominated by acclamation.

The popular vote cast was as follows:

Mr. Lincoln	2,213,665
Gen. McClellan	1,802,237

The army vote cast was as follows: For Mr. Lincoln, 116,887; for Gen. McClellan, 33,748—the vote of the States of Kansas, Minnesota and Vermont arriving too late to be counted and that of Wisconsin being rejected for informality.

[Mr. Lincoln received 212 electoral votes and Gen. McClellan 21, the latter receiving only the electoral votes of Delaware, Kentucky and New Jersey.]

TENTH NATIONAL CONVENTION.

Held in New York July 4 to 11, 1868—Seymour and Blair the Nominees.

The Tenth National convention of the Democratic party was called to order at New York July 4, 1868, by August Belmont, chairman of the Democratic national committee. Henry L. Palmer was chosen temporary chairman, and Horatio Seymour of New York permanent president. A motion that the rules of the House of Representatives be adopted, was rejected because it was feared that it would abrogate the two-thirds rule, and the rules of the convention of 1864 were then adopted.

The friends of Mr. Pendleton attempted to force an immediate vote, but were beaten, and the convention adjourned until Monday. On that day "filibustering" was resorted to in order to retard business, and the committee on resolutions was not able to report until the following day. Its report—unanimously made and unanimously adopted—is as follows:

The Democratic party, in national convention assembled, reposing its trust in the intelligence, patriotism and discriminating justice of the people, standing upon the constitution as the foundation and limitation of the powers of the government, and the guarantee of the liberties of the citizen, and recognizing the questions of slavery and secession as having been settled for all time to come by the war or the voluntary action of the Southern States in constitutional conventions assembled, and never to be renewed or reagitated, do, with the return of peace, demand:

1. Immediate restoration of all the States to their rights in the Union under the constitution, and of civil government to the American people.

2. Amnesty for all past political offenses, and the regulation of the elective franchise in the States by their citizens.

3. Payment of the public debt of the United States as rapidly as practicable; all moneys drawn from the people by taxation, except so much as is requisite for the necessities of the government, economically administered, being honestly applied to such payment, and where the obligations of the government do not expressly state upon their face, or the law under which they were issued does not provide that they shall be paid in coin, they ought, in right and in justice, to be paid in the lawful money of the United States.

4. Equal taxation of every species of property according to its real value, including government bonds and other public securities.

5. One currency for the government and the people, the laborer and the officeholder, the pensioner and the soldier, the producer and the bondholder.

6. Economy in the administration of the government; the reduction of the standing army and navy; the abolition of the Freedmen's Bureau and all political instrumentalities designed to secure negro supremacy; simplification of the system, and discontinuance of inquisitorial modes of assessing and collecting internal revenue, so that the burden of taxation may be equalized and lessened; the credit of the government and the currency made good; the repeal of all enactments for enrolling the State militia into national forces in time of peace; and a tariff for revenue upon foreign imports and such equal taxation under the internal revenue laws as will afford incidental protection to domestic manufactures, and as will, without impairing the revenue, impose the least burden upon and best promote and encourage the great industrial interests of the country.

7. Reform of abuses in the administration, the expulsion of corrupt men from office, the abrogation of useless offices, the restoration of rightful authority to, and the independence of, the executive and judicial departments of the government, the subordination of the military to the civil power, to the end that the usurpations of congress and despotism of the sword may cease.

8. Equal rights and protection for naturalized and native-born citizens at home and abroad, the assertion of American nationality which shall command the respect of foreign powers and furnish an example and encouragement to people struggling for national integrity, constitutional liberty and individual rights, and the maintenance of the rights of naturalized citizens against the absolute doctrine of immutable allegiance, and the claims of foreign powers to punish them for alleged crime committed beyond their jurisdiction.

In demanding these measures and reforms we arraign the radical party for its disregard of right and the unparalleled oppression and tyranny which have marked its career.

After the most solemn and unanimous pledge of both houses of congress to prosecute the war exclusively for the maintenance of the government and the preservation of the Union under the constitution, it has repeatedly violated that most sacred pledge under which alone was rallied that noble volunteer army which carried our flag to victory. Instead of restoring the Union, it has, so far as in its power, dissolved it, and subjected ten States, in time of profound peace, to military despotism and negro supremacy. It has nullified there the right of trial by jury; it has abolished the *habeas corpus*, that most sacred writ of liberty; it has overthrown the freedom of speech and the press; it has substituted arbitrary seizures and arrests, and military trials and secret star-chamber inquisitions for the constitutional tribunals; it has disregarded in time of peace the right of the people to be free from searches and seizures; it has entered the post and telegraph offices, and even the private rooms of individuals, and seized their private papers and letters without any specific charge or notice of affidavit, as required by the organic law; it has converted the American capitol into a bastile; it has established a system of spies and official espionage to which no constitutional monarchy of Europe would now dare to resort; it has abolished the right of appeal on

important constitutional questions to the supreme judicial tribunals and threatens to curtail or destroy its original jurisdiction, which is irrevocably vested by the constitution, while the learned chief justice has been subjected to the most atrocious calumnies merely because he would not prostitute his high office to the support of the false and partisan charges preferred against the president. Its corruption and extravagance have exceeded anything known in history, and, by its frauds and monopolies it has nearly doubled the burden of the debt created by the war. It has stripped the president of his constitutional power of appointment even of his own cabinet. Under its repeated assaults the pillars of the government are rocking on their base, and should it succeed in November next and inaugurate its president we will meet as a subjected and conquered people, amid the ruins of liberty and the scattered fragments of the constitution.

And we do declare and resolve that ever since the people of the United States threw off all subjection to the British crown the privilege and trust of suffrage have belonged to the several States, and have been granted, regulated, and controlled exclusively by the political power of each State respectively, and that any attempt by congress, on any pretext whatever, to deprive any state of this right, or interfere with its exercise, is a flagrant usurpation of power which can find no warrant in the constitution, and, if sanctioned by the people, will subvert our form of government, and can only end in a single, centralized, and consolidated government, in which the separate existence of the States will be entirely absorbed, and an unqualified despotism be established in place of a federal union of co-equal States.

And that we regard the reconstruction acts (so called) of congress, as such, as usurpations and unconstitutional, revolutionary, and void. That our soldiers and sailors, who carried the flag of our country to victory against a most gallant and determined foe, must ever be gratefully remembered, and all the guarantees given in their favor must be faithfully carried into execution.

That the public lands should be distributed as widely as possible among the people, and should be disposed of either under the pre-emption of homestead lands or sold in reasonable quantities, and to none but actual occupants, at the minimum price established by the government. When grants of the public lands may be allowed, necessary for the encouragement of important public improvements, the proceeds of the sale of such lands, and not the lands themselves, should be so applied.

That the president of the United States, Andrew Johnson, in exercising the power of his high office in resisting the aggressions of congress upon the constitutional rights of the States and the people, is entitled to the gratitude of the whole American people, and in behalf of the Democratic party we tender him our thanks for his patriotic efforts in that regard.

Upon this platform the Democratic party appeals to every patriot, including all the conservative element and all who desire to support the constitution and restore the Union, forgetting all past differences of opinion, to unite with us in the present great struggle for the liberties of the people; and that to all such, to whatever party they may have heretofore belonged, we extend the right hand of fellowship, and hail all such co-operative with us as friends and brethren.

Resolved, That this convention sympathize cordially with the workingmen of the United States in their efforts to protect the rights and interests of the laboring classes of the country.

Resolved, That the thanks of the convention are tendered to Chief Justice Salmon P. Chase for the justice, dignity, and impartiality with which he presided over the court of impeachment on the trial of President Andrew Johnson.

[This last was offered by Mr. Kernan of New York after the nominations and immediately before the final adjournment, and was carried by acclamation.]

The convention then proceeded to ballot (voting until Thursday) for a candidate for President. Twenty-two ballots were had, and a few only are given as showing the increased and decreased strength of the several candidates, viz:

	First.	Eighth	Six-teenth.	Eight-eenth.	Nine-teenth.	Twen-ty-first.
G. H. Pendleton, Ohio	105	156½	107½	56½	.....	.....
A. Johnson, Tennessee	65	6	5½	10	.....	.....
W. S. Hancock, Pennsylvania	33½	28	113½	144½	135½	135½
S. E. Church, New York	33	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Asa Packer, Pennsylvania	26	26	.....	.....	.....	.....
Joel Parker, New Jersey	13	7	7	3½	.....	.....
J. E. English, Connecticut	16	6	.....	.....	6	19
J. R. Doolittle, Wisconsin	13	12	12	12	12	12
T. A. Hendricks, Indiana	2½	75	70½	87	107½	132
Scattering	9	½	.....	3½	33	12½

The New York and Pennsylvania delegations had prevented a nomination by changing their votes almost solidly to various candidates. The twenty-second ballot was commenced under great excitement. A few votes were announced for Horatio Seymour, who positively and persistently refused to be a candidate. The votes were not withdrawn, however, and as other votes were cast for him, Mr. Seymour withdrew from the chair highly indignant that the convention would not accept his peremptory refusal to be a candidate. The "stampede" to Mr. Seymour then began, with the result that every vote in the convention (317) was cast for him. It was asserted then, and has been since, that the "stampede" was as carefully planned as that to Mr. Polk in 1844, to Mr. Pierce in 1852, and Gen. Garfield in 1880, but it has not been established by satisfactory proof. The enthusiasm of the delegates was so sincere, as well as spontaneous, that Mr. Seymour accepted the nomination.

For Vice-President.

Gen. Francis P. Blair of Missouri was then nominated unanimously for Vice-President.

The popular and electoral vote cast is as follows:

STATES.	POPULAR.		ELECTORAL.	
	Grant, Republican.	Seymour, Democrat.	Grant.	Seymour.
Alabama	76,366	72,088	8	.....
Arkansas	22,112	19,078	5	.....
California	54,583	54,077	5	.....
Connecticut	50,995	47,952	6	.....
Delaware	7,623	10,980	.....	3
†Florida	.....	.....	3	.....
Georgia	57,184	102,722	.....	9
Illinois	250,303	199,134	16	.....
Indiana	176,548	166,980	13	.....
Iowa	120,399	74,040	8	.....

STATES.	POPULAR.		ELECTORAL.	
	Grant, Repuplican.	Seymour, Democrat.	Grant.	Seymour.
Kansas	31,048	13,990	3	.....
Kentucky	39,566	115,890	.....	11
Louisiana	33,263	80,225	.....	7
Maine	70,493	42,460	7	.....
Maryland	30,438	62,357	.....	7
Massachusetts	136,477	59,408	12	.....
Michigan	128,550	97,069	8	.....
Minnesota	43,545	28,075	4	.....
Missouri	86,860	65,628	11	.....
Nebraska	9,729	5,439	3	.....
Nevada	6,480	5,218	3	.....
New Hampshire	38,191	31,224	5	.....
New Jersey	80,131	83,001	.....	7
New York	419,883	429,883	.....	33
North Carolina	96,769	84,601	9	.....
Ohio	280,223	238,606	21	.....
Oregon	10,961	11,125	.....	3
Pennsylvania	342,280	313,382	26	.....
Rhode Island	12,993	6,548	4	.....
South Carolina	62,301	45,237	6	.....
Tennessee	56,728	26,129	10	.....
Vermont	44,167	12,045	5	.....
West Virginia	29,175	20,306	5	.....
Wisconsin	108,857	84,707	8	.....
Total	3,015,071	2,709,613	214	80

† Electors chosen by the Legislature.
Mississippi, 7; Texas, 6; Virginia 10, not voting.
Nebraska admitted.

ELEVENTH NATIONAL CONVENTION.

Held in Baltimore, Wednesday, July 9, 1872—Greeley and Brown Nominated.

The Eleventh National convention of the Democratic party was called to order at Baltimore, Md., July 9, 1872, by August Belmont, chairman of the Democratic national committee. The Liberal Republican convention, which met at Cincinnati, O., May 1, had nominated Horace Greeley for President and B. Gratz Brown of Missouri for Vice-President, and there seemed abundant promise of the disruption of the Republican party. The leaders of the Democratic party—or most of them—believed the best policy to pursue was to indorse that nomination, and that proved to be the judgment of the convention. Thomas Jefferson Randolph of Virginia was chosen temporary chairman, and James R. Doolittle of Wisconsin permanent president. The rules of the convention of 1868 were adopted on motion of S. S. Cox of New York, and the report of the committee on resolutions, recommending the adoption of the Liberal Republican platform, though strongly opposed by Thomas F. Bayard of Delaware, was adopted by the overwhelming vote of 670 to 72.

That platform is as follows:

1. We recognize the equality of all men before the law, and hold that it is the duty of government in its dealings with the people to mete out equal and exact justice to all, of whatever nativity, race, color, or persuasion, religious or political.

2. We pledge ourselves to maintain the Union of these States, emancipation, and enfranchisement, and to oppose any reopening of the questions settled by the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth amendments to the constitution.

3. We demand the immediate and absolute removal of all disabilities imposed on account of the rebellion, which was finally subdued seven years ago, believing that universal amnesty will result in complete pacification in all sections of the country.

4. Local self-government, with impartial suffrage, will guard the rights of all citizens more securely than any centralized power. The public welfare requires the supremacy of the civil over the military authority, and freedom of persons under the protection of the habeas corpus. We demand for the individual the largest liberty consistent with public order, for the State self-government, and for the nation a return to the methods of peace and the constitutional limitations of power.

5. The civil service of the government has become a mere instrument of partisan tyranny and personal ambition and object of selfish greed. It is a scandal and reproach upon free institutions, and breeds a demoralization dangerous to the perpetuity of republican government. We therefore regard a thorough reform of the civil service as one of the most pressing necessities of the hour; that honesty, capacity, and fidelity constitute the only valid claim to public employment; that the offices of the government cease to be a matter of arbitrary favoritism and patronage, and that public station become again a post of honor. To this end it is imperatively required that no president shall be a candidate for re-election.

6. We demand a system of federal taxation which shall not unnecessarily interfere with the industry of the people, and which shall provide the means necessary to pay the expenses of the government, economically administered, the pensions, the interest on the public debt, and a moderate reduction annually of the principal thereof, and recognizing that there are in our midst honest but irreconcilable differences of opinion with regard to the respective systems of protection and free trade, we remit the discussion of the subject to the people in their congressional districts, and to the decision of the congress thereon, wholly free from executive interference or dictation.

7. The public credit must be sacredly maintained, and we denounce repudiation in every form and guise.

8. A speedy return to specie payment is demanded alike by the highest considerations of commercial morality and honest government.

9. We remember with gratitude the heroism and sacrifices of the soldiers and sailors of the republic, and no act of ours shall ever detract from their justly earned fame for the full reward of their patriotism.

10. We are opposed to all further grants of lands to railroads or other corporations. The public domain should be held sacred to actual settlers.

11. We hold that it is the duty of the government in its intercourse with foreign nations to cultivate the friendship of peace by treating with all on fair and equal terms, regarding it alike dishonorable either to demand what is not right or to submit to what is wrong.

12. For the promotion and success of these vital principles, and the support of the candidates nominated by this convention, we invite and cordially welcome the co-operation of all patriotic citizens, without regard to previous political affiliations.

The popular and electoral vote cast is as follows, viz:

STATES.	POPULAR.		ELECTORAL.	
	Grant, Republican.	Greeley, Democrat.	Grant, Republican.	Greeley, Democrat.
Alabama	90,272	79,444	10	
Arkansas	41,373	37,927		
California	54,020	40,718	6	
Connecticut	50,638	45,880	6	
Delaware	11,115	10,206	3	
Florida	17,763	15,427	4	
Georgia	62,550	76,356		11
Illinois	241,944	184,938	21	
Indiana	186,147	163,632	15	
Iowa	131,566	71,196	11	
Kansas	67,048	32,970	5	
Kentucky	88,766	99,995		12
Louisiana	71,663	57,029		
Maine	61,422	29,087	7	
Maryland	66,760	67,687		8
Massachusetts	133,472	59,260	13	
Michigan	138,455	78,355	11	
Minnesota	55,117	34,423	5	
Mississippi	82,175	47,288	8	
Missouri	119,196	151,434		15
Nebraska	18,329	7,812	3	
Nevada	8,413	6,286	3	
New Hampshire	37,168	31,424	5	
New Jersey	91,656	76,456	9	
New York	440,736	387,281	35	
North Carolina	94,769	70,084	10	
Ohio	281,853	244,321	22	
Oregon	11,819	7,730	3	
Pennsylvania	349,589	212,041	29	
Rhode Island	13,665	5,329	4	
South Carolina	72,290	22,703	7	
Tennessee	85,655	94,391		12
Texas	47,406	66,500		8
Vermont	41,481	10,927	5	
Virginia	93,468	91,654	11	
West Virginia	32,315	29,451	5	
Wisconsin	104,997	86,477	10	
Total	3,597,070	2,834,097	286	66

Grant's majority, 727,975.
O'Connor, "Straight-out" Democrat, 29,408.
Black, temperance, 5,608.

Mr. Greeley died November 28, 1872, and the electoral votes to which he was entitled were distributed between Messrs. Hendricks of Indiana, Brown of Missouri, Jenkins of Georgia and Davis of Illinois, 17 votes not being cast or counted for any person, viz.: six from Arkansas, three from Georgia and eight from Louisiana.

TWELFTH NATIONAL CONVENTION.

Held in St. Louis, Mo., June 27 to 29, 1876—Tilden and Hendricks the Nominees.

The Twelfth National convention of the Democratic party convened in St. Louis, Mo., June 27, 1876, and was called to order by Augustus Schell of New York on behalf of the Democratic national committee.

Henry Watterson of Kentucky was chosen temporary chairman and Gen. John A. McClernand of Illinois permanent president. The rules of the last convention were adopted and on the following day the platform was reported from the committee on resolutions by Mr. Meredith of Virginia (read by Mr. Dorsheimer of New York). Gen. Thomas Ewing of Ohio made a minority report, signed among others by Senator Voorhees of Indiana, proposing to strike out from the eighth paragraph the words, "as such hindrance we denounce the resumption clause of the act of 1875 and we here demand its repeal," and insert in lieu thereof the words, "the law for the resumption of specie payments on the 1st of January, 1875, having been enacted by the Republican party without deliberation in congress or discussion before the people, and being both ineffective to secure its objects and highly injurious to the business of the country, ought to be forthwith repealed." The amendment was rejected—yeas 219, nays 550—and the platform as reported was then adopted by yeas 651, nays 83.

The platform as adopted is as follows:

The Platform.

We, the delegates of the Democratic party of the United States in national convention assembled, do hereby declare the administration of the federal government to be in urgent need of immediate reform; do hereby enjoin upon the nominees of this convention, and of the Democratic party in each State, a zealous effort and co-operation to this end; and do hereby appeal to our fellow-citizens of every former political connection to undertake with us this first and most pressing patriotic duty.

For the Democracy of the whole country we do here reaffirm our faith in the permanence of the federal union, our devotion to the constitution of the United States, with its amendments universally accepted, as a final settlement of the controversies that engendered civil war, and do here record our steadfast confidence in the perpetuity of republican self-government.

In absolute acquiescence in the will of the majority—the vital principle of republics; in the supremacy of the civil over the military authority; in the total separation of church and State, for the sake alike of civil and religious freedom; in the equality of all citizens before just laws of their own enactment; in the liberty of individual conduct, unvexed by sumptuary laws; in the faithful education of the rising generation, that they may preserve, enjoy and transmit these best conditions of human happiness and hope, we behold the noblest products of a hundred years of changeful history; but while upholding the bond of our Union and great charter of these our rights, it behooves a free people to practice also that eternal vigilance which is the price of liberty.

Reform is necessary to rebuild and establish in the hearts of the whole people the Union, eleven years ago happily rescued from the danger of a secession of States; but now to be saved from a corrupt centralism which, after inflicting upon ten States the rapacity of carpet-bag tyrannies, has honeycombed the offices of the federal government itself with incapacity,

waste and fraud; infected States and municipalities with the contagion of misrule, and locked fast the prosperity of an industrious people in the paralysis of "hard times."

Reform is necessary to establish a sound currency, restore the public credit, and maintain the national honor.

We denounce the failure, for all these eleven years of peace, to make good the promise of the legal-tender notes, which are a changing standard of value in the hands of the people, and the non-payment of which is a disregard of the plighted faith of the nation.

We denounce the improvidence which, in eleven years of peace, has taken from the people in federal taxes thirteen times the whole amount of the legal-tender notes, and squandered four times their sum in useless expense without accumulating any reserve for their redemption.

We denounce the financial imbecility and immorality of that party, which, during eleven years of peace, has made no advance toward resumption, no preparation for resumption, but instead has obstructed resumption by wasting our resources and exhausting all our surplus income; and, while annually professing to intend the speedy return to specie payments, has annually enacted fresh hindrances thereto. As such hindrance we denounce the resumption clause of the act of 1875, and we here demand its repeal.

We demand a judicious system of preparation by public economies, by official retrenchments, and by wise finance, which shall enable the nation soon to assure the whole world of its perfect ability and its perfect readiness to meet any of its promises at the call of the creditor entitled to payment.

We believe such a system, well devised, and above all intrusted to competent hands for execution, creating at no time an artificial scarcity of currency, and at no time alarming the public mind into a withdrawal of that vaster machinery of credit by which 95 per cent. of all business transactions are performed—a system open, public, and inspiring general confidence, would from the day of its adoption bring healing on its wings to all our harassed industries, set in motion the wheels of commerce, manufactures, and the mechanic arts, restore employment to labor, and renew in all its natural sources the prosperity of the people.

Reform is necessary in the sum and modes of federal taxation, to the end that capital may be set free from distrust and labor lightly burdened.

We denounce the present tariff, levied upon nearly 4,000 articles, as a masterpiece of injustice, inequality, and false pretense. It yields a dwindling, not a yearly rising revenue. It has impoverished many industries to subsidize a few. It prohibits imports that might purchase the products of American labor. It has degraded American commerce from the first to an inferior rank on the high seas. It has cut down the sales of American manufactures at home and abroad, and depleted the returns of American agriculture—an industry followed by half of our people. It costs the people five times more than it produces to the treasury, obstructs the processes of production, and wastes the fruits of labor. It promotes fraud, fosters smuggling, enriches dishonest officials, and bankrupts honest merchants. We demand that all custom-house taxation shall be only for revenue.

Reform is necessary in the scale of public expense—federal, State, and municipal. Our federal taxation has swollen from sixty millions gold, in 1860, to four hundred and fifty millions currency, in 1870; our aggregate taxation from one hundred and fifty-four millions gold, in 1860, to seven hundred and thirty millions currency, in 1870; or in one decade from less than five dollars per head to more than eighteen dollars per head. Since the peace the people have paid to their tax gatherers more than thrice the sum of the national debt, and more than twice that sum for the federal government alone. We demand a rigorous frugality in every department and from every officer of the government.

Reform is necessary to put a stop to the profligate waste of public lands and their diversion from actual settlers by the party in power, which has squandered 200,000,000 of acres upon railroads alone, and out of more than

thrice that aggregate has disposed of less than a sixth directly to tillers of the soil.

Reform is necessary to correct the omissions of a Republican congress and the errors of our treaties and our diplomacy, which have stripped our fellow-citizens of foreign birth and kindred race recrossing the Atlantic of the shield of American citizenship, and have exposed our brethren of the Pacific coast to the incursions of a race not sprung from the same great parent stock, and in fact now by law denied citizenship through naturalization as being neither accustomed to the traditions of a progressive civilization nor exercised in liberty under equal laws. We denounce the policy which thus discards the liberty-loving German and tolerates a revival of the cooly trade in Mongolian women imported for immoral purposes, and Mongolian men held to perform servile labor contracts, and demand such modification of the treaty with the Chinese Empire, or such legislation within constitutional limitations, as shall prevent further importation or immigration of the Mongolian race.

Reform is necessary, and can never be effected but by making it the controlling issue of the election, and lifting it above the two false issues with which the office-holding class and the party in power seek to smother it.

1. The false issue with which they would enkindle sectarian strife in respect to the public schools, of which the establishment and support belong exclusively to the several States, and which the Democratic party has cherished from their foundation and is resolved to maintain without prejudice or preference for any class, sect, or creed, and without largesses from the treasury to any.

2. The false issue by which they seek to light anew the dying embers of sectional hate between kindred peoples once estranged, but now reunited in one indivisible republic and a common destiny.

Reform is necessary in the civil service. Experience proves that efficient, economical conduct of the government business is not possible if its civil service be subject to change at every election, be a prize fought for at the ballot-box, be a brief reward of party zeal, instead of posts of honor assigned for proved competency and held for fidelity to the public employ; that the dispensing of patronage should neither be a tax upon the time of all our public men nor the instrument of their ambition. Here again promises falsified in the performance attest that the party in power can work out no practical or salutary reform.

Reform is necessary even more in the higher grades of the public service. President, vice-president, judges, senators, representatives, cabinet officers, these and all others in authority are the people's servants. Their offices are not a private perquisite; they are a public trust.

When the annals of this republic show the disgrace and censure of a vice-president; a late speaker of the House of Representatives marketing his rulings as a presiding officer; three senators profiting secretly by their votes as law-makers; five chairmen of the leading committees of the late House of Representatives exposed in jobbery; a late secretary of the treasury forcing balances in the public accounts; a late attorney-general misappropriating public funds; a secretary of the navy enriched or enriching friends by percentages levied off the profits of contractors with his department; an ambassador to England censured in a dishonorable speculation; the president's private secretary barely escaping conviction upon trial for guilty complicity in frauds upon the revenue; a secretary of war impeached for high crime and misdemeanors—the demonstration is complete that the first step in reform must be the people's choice of honest men from another party, lest the disease of one political organization infect the body politic, and lest by making no change of men or parties we get no change of measures and no real reform.

All these abuses, wrongs and crimes, the product of sixteen years' ascendency of the Republican party, create a necessity for reform confessed by Republicans themselves; but their reformers are voted down in convention and displaced from the cabinet. The party's mass of honest voters is powerless to resist the 80,000 officeholders, its leaders and guides.

Reform can only be had by a peaceful civic revolution. We demand a change of system, a change of administration, a change of parties, that we may have a change of measures and of men.

Resolved, That this convention, representing the Democratic party of the United States, do cordially indorse the action of the present House of Representatives in reducing and curtailing the expenses of the federal government, in cutting down salaries, extravagant appropriations, and in abolishing useless offices, and places not required by the public necessities, and we shall trust to the firmness of the Democratic members of the House that no committee of conference and no misinterpretation of the rules will be allowed to defeat these wholesome measures of economy demanded by the country.

Resolved, That the soldiers and sailors of the republic, and the widows and orphans of those who have fallen in battle, have a just claim upon the care, protection, and gratitude of their fellow-citizens.

The convention then proceeded to select its candidates for President and Vice-President. But two ballots for President were taken, resulting as follows, viz:

	First.	Second.
Samuel J. Tilden of New York	417	535
Thomas A. Hendricks of Indiana	140	60
Winfield S. Hancock of Pennsylvania	75	59
William Allen of Ohio	56	54
Thomas F. Bayard of Delaware	33	11
Joel Parker of New Jersey	18	18
Allen G. Thurman of Ohio	....	7

As but 496 votes were necessary for a choice, Mr. Tilden was declared unanimously nominated in spite of the hostility of Tammany Hall under the lead of John Kelly, and on the following day Thomas A. Hendricks of Indiana was unanimously nominated for Vice-President in spite of the protest of the Indiana delegation that he would not accept second place.

The popular and electoral vote was cast as follows:

STATES.	POPULAR.		ELECTORAL.	
	S. J. Tilden, Dem.	R. B. Hayes, Rep.	S. J. Tilden, Dem.	R. B. Hayes, Rep.
Alabama	102,002	68,230	10	.....
Arkansas	58,071	38,669	6	.....
California	76,465	79,267	.....	6
†Colorado	.....	.....	.....	3
Connecticut	61,934	59,034	6	.....
Delaware	13,381	10,752	3	.....
*Florida	22,923	23,849	.....	4
Georgia	130,088	50,446	11	.....
Illinois	258,601	278,232	.....	21
Indiana	213,526	208,011	15	.....
Iowa	112,099	121,327	.....	11
Kansas	37,902	78,322	.....	5
Kentucky	159,690	97,156	12	.....
*Louisiana	70,508	75,135	.....	8
Maine	49,823	66,300	.....	7
Maryland	91,780	71,981	8	.....
Massachusetts	108,777	150,063	.....	13
Michigan	141,095	166,534	.....	11
Minnesota	48,799	72,962	.....	5

STATES.	POPULAR.		ELECTORAL.	
	S. J. Tilden, Dem.	R. B. Hayes, Rep.	S. J. Tilden, Dem.	R. B. Hayes, Rep.
Mississippi	112,173	52,605	8	.....
Missouri	203,077	145,029	15	.....
Nebraska	17,554	31,916	.....	3
Nevada	9,308	10,383	.....	3
New Hampshire	38,509	41,539	.....	5
New Jersey	115,961	103,517	9	.....
New York	521,949	489,207	35	.....
North Carolina	125,427	108,417	10	.....
Ohio	323,182	330,698	.....	22
*Oregon	14,149	15,206	.. ..	3
Pennsylvania	366,158	384,122	.....	29
Rhode Island	10,712	15,787	.....	4
*South Carolina	90,906	91,870	.....	7
Tennessee	133,166	89,566	12	.....
Texas	104,755	44,800	8	.....
Vermont	20,254	44,092	.....	5
Virginia	139,670	95,558	11	.....
West Virginia	56,455	42,698	5	.....
Wisconsin	123,927	130,668	.....	10
Total	4,284,757	4,033,950	184	185

* Peter Cooper of New York (Greenback candidate) received 81,740 votes, and Green Clay Smith of Kentucky (Prohibition candidate) received 9,522 votes.
† Electors chosen by legislature.

From Florida two sets of certificates were received; from Louisiana, three; from Oregon, two; and from South Carolina, two. They were referred to the electoral commission, formed under the act of January 29, 1877, and the commission decided in favor of counting the electoral vote as given in the above table. As a matter of interest and pertinent to this election, it may be stated that the said act provided that the commission should consist of five senators, five representatives and five justices of the supreme court, the senators and representatives to be chosen respectively by the Senate and House of Representatives. The Senate chose Senators George F. Edmunds, Oliver P. Morton and Frederick T. Frelinghuysen, Republicans, and Allen G. Thurman and Thomas F. Bayard, Democrats. The House of Representatives chose Messrs. Henry B. Payne, Eppa Hunton, and Josiah G. Abbott, Democrats, and James A. Garfield and George F. Hoar, Republicans. The four justices of the supreme court designated by the act, were Justices Nathan Clifford, William Strong, Samuel F. Miller and Stephen J. Field. Messrs. Clifford and Field were Democrats, and Strong and Miller Republicans, and they selected Justice Joseph Bradley, Republican, as the fifth member of the commission on the part of the supreme court.

By the act, double returns, and all returns to which objection should be made, were to be referred to the commission, whose decision was to be final unless reversed by the vote of both Houses. The

general rule held by the commission was, that it was only empowered to canvass electoral votes, not popular votes, and to decide whether the governor had certified those electors who had been declared elected by the canvassing authority of the State. It thus ascertained that in Louisiana the governor had certified the legitimate electors, while in Oregon the governor had not. In all these cases the House voted to reject and the Senate to sustain the commission's decision, and the decision was therefore sustained in favor of the Republican electors. In the case of South Carolina, and in those of electors objected to as federal officeholders, the commission decided in favor of the Republican electors, and the decision was not rendered by concurrent vote of the two Houses of Congress. All the twenty doubtful votes (Florida 4, Louisiana 8, Oregon 1 and South Carolina 7), thus fell to the Republican candidates, and the result was declared to be 185 for Hayes and Wheeler, and 184 votes for Tilden and Hendricks.

In the case of the South Carolina contest, the commission voted unanimously that the Tilden electors were not the true electors from that State, and, by a vote of 8 to 7, that the Hayes electors were.

The count proceeded under the law in the alphabetical order of the States, commencing March 1, 1877, and a final vote was not reached until March 2, at 4 o'clock A. M., when the result was announced by Mr. Allison of Iowa, one of the tellers, on the part of the Senate.

THIRTEENTH NATIONAL CONVENTION.

Held at Cincinnati, O., June 22-24, 1880—Hancock and English the Nominees

The Thirteenth National convention of the Democratic party convened at Cincinnati, O., June 22, 1880, and was called to order by William H. Barnum of Connecticut, chairman of the national committee.

George Hoadly of Ohio was made temporary chairman and J. W. Stevenson of Kentucky permanent president, and the rules of the convention of 1876 were adopted.

The following platform reported by Henry Watterson of Kentucky from the committee on resolutions, was unanimously adopted:

The Democrats of the United States, in convention assembled, declare:

1. We pledge ourselves anew to the constitutional doctrine and traditions of the Democratic party, as illustrated by the teachings and example of a long line of Democratic statesmen and patriots and embodied in the platform of the last national convention of the party.

2. Opposition to centralization and to that dangerous spirit of encroachment which tends to consolidate the powers of all the departments in one, and thus create, whatever be the form of government, a real despotism. No sumptuary laws; separation of church and State for the good of each; common schools fostered and protected.

3. Home rule; honest money—the strict maintenance of the public faith

—consisting of gold and silver, and paper convertible into coin on demand; the strict maintenance of the public faith, State and national, and a tariff for revenue only. The subordination of the military to the civil power, and a general and thorough reform of the civil service.

4. The right to a free ballot is the right preservative of all rights and must and shall be maintained in every part of the United States.

5. The existing administration is the representative of conspiracy only, and its claim of right to surround the ballot-boxes with troops and deputy marshals, to intimidate and obstruct the electors, and the unprecedented use of the veto to maintain its corrupt and despotic power, insult the people and imperil their institutions. We execrate the course of this administration in making places in the civil service a reward for political crime, and demand a reform by statute which shall make it forever impossible for the defeated candidate to bribe his way to the seat of the usurper by billeting villains upon the people.

6. The great fraud of 1876–'77, by which, upon a false count of the electoral votes of two States, the candidate defeated at the polls was declared to be president and for the first time in American history the will of the people was set aside under a threat of military violence, struck a deadly blow at our system of representative government; the Democratic party, to preserve the country from a civil war, submitted for a time in firm and patriotic faith that the people would punish this crime in 1880; this issue precedes and dwarfs every other; it imposes a more sacred duty upon the people of the Union than ever addressed the concience of a nation of free men.

7. The resolution of Samuel J. Tilden not again to be a candidate for the exalted place to which he was elected by a majority of his countrymen, and from which he was excluded by the leaders of the Republican party, is received by the Democrats of the United States with sensibility, and they declare their confidence in his wisdom, patriotism and integrity, unshaken by the assaults of a common enemy, and they further assure him that he is followed into the retirement he has chosen for himself by the sympathy and respect of his fellow-citizens, who regard him as one who, by elevating the standards of public morality, merits the lasting gratitude of his party.

8. Free ships and a living chance for American commerce on the seas and on the land. No discrimination in favor of transportation lines, corporations or monopolies.

9. Amendment of the Burlingame treaty. No more Chinese immigration, except for travel, education and foreign commerce, and therein carefully guarded.

10. Public money and public credit for public purposes solely, and public land for actual settlers.

11. The Democratic party is the friend of labor and the laboring man and pledges itself to protect him alike against the cormorant and the commune.

12. We congratulate the country upon the honesty and thrift of a Democratic congress which has reduced the public expenditure $40,000,000 a year; upon the continuance of prosperity at home and the national honor abroad, and, above all, upon the promise of such a change in the administration of the government as shall insure us genuine and lasting reform in every department of the public service.

A permanent organization was not effected until the following day, there being several contests, the most important being from Massachusetts and New York. The Massachusetts contest was settled by admitting both sets with half a vote for each. The New York contest was more difficult and threatened to result seriously, as the Tammany organization, headed by John Kelly, was bitterly hostile to Mr. Tilden, Mr. Kelly and other prominent members declaring

that in the event of Mr. Tilden's nomination they would not support him, and that without their aid he could not carry New York. This declaration resulted in the exclusion of the Tammany delegation, the committee on credentials reporting against them, a minority report being made giving them twenty out of the seventy votes allowed New York. After a sharp debate the minority vote was rejected by yeas 205½, nays 457, the New York delegation, at its own request, being excused from voting. The convention then proceeded to ballot for a candidate for president, the first vote resulting as follows:

Winfield S. Hancock, Pennsylvania	171
Thomas F. Bayard, Delaware	153½
Henry B. Payne, Ohio	81
Allen G. Thurman, Ohio	68½
Stephen J. Field, California	65
William R. Morrison, Illinois	62
Thomas A. Hendricks, Indiana	50½
Samuel J. Tilden, New York	38
Horatio Seymour	8
Scattering	31

The convention then adjourned.

On the following day the convention resumed balloting, the second ballot resulting as follows:

Hancock	320	Thurman	50
S. J. Randall	128½	Hendricks	31
Bayard	113	Tilden	6
Field	65½	Scattering	27

The vote of New York, which on the first ballot had been cast for Mr. Payne, was transferred to Mr. Randall of Pennsylvania, who was supposed to be Mr. Tilden's real choice. Up to the date of the convention Mr. Tilden had steadily refused to express any wish or desire in respect to the nomination, and his friends were absolutely without knowledge as to his purposes or desires.

The publication of a letter from Mr. Tilden in which he "renounced" the nomination, did not remove the doubts of his friends or aid them in forming a conclusion. The letter was so worded that both friends and foes were unable to say that he would not accept the nomination if tendered him, but the prevailing sentiment was to "take him at his word." The attempt of Mr. Tilden, or his friends, to transfer his vote to Mr. Randall failed, for at the conclusion of the second ballot, changes were made to Gen. Hancock, who had gained 150 votes during the night, and he was nominated, the result being, after the change, as follows.

Hancock	705	Bayard	2
Hendricks	30	Tilden	1

The convention then proceeded to ballot for a candidate for vice-president, but two names being presented, those of William H. English of Indiana and Richard M. Bishop of Ohio. The decided lead obtained by Mr. English induced Mr. Bishop's friends to with-

draw his name during the call and Mr. English was nominated by acclamation.

Thirty-eight States voted. In Maine there was a "fusion" ticket made up of three Democrats and four Greenbackers, a "straight Greenback" ticket being also voted for. In Virginia two Democratic tickets were voted for, the "regular" ticket receiving 96,912 and the "Readjuster" ticket 31,674 votes. In Louisiana two Republican tickets were voted for. In Maine and Virginia the "Greenback" and "Readjuster" vote was counted for Hancock.

The popular and electoral vote cast is as follows:

STATES.	POPULAR.			ELECTORAL.		
	Garfield, Republican.	Hancock, Democrat.	Weaver, Greenback.	Garfield.	Hancock.	Total.
Alabama	56,178	90,687	4,642	.....	10	10
Arkansas	41,661	60,489	4,079	.....	6	6
California	80,348	80,426	3,392	1	5	6
Colorado	27,450	24,647	1,435	3	.....	3
Connecticut	67,073	64,417	868	6	.....	6
Delaware	14,150	15,183	.....	.....	3	3
Florida	23,694	27,964	.....	.....	4	4
Georgia	52,658	102,522	481	.....	11	11
Illinois	318,037	277,321	26,358	21	.....	21
Indiana	223,164	225,528	12,986	15	.....	15
Iowa	183,904	105,845	32,327	11	.....	11
Kansas	121,520	59,789	19,710	5	.....	5
Kentucky	104,550	147,999	11,498	.....	12	12
Louisiana	37,994	65,310	439	.....	8	8
Maine	74,039	65,171	4,408	7	.....	7
Maryland	78,515	93,706	818	.....	8	8
Massachusetts	165,205	111,960	4,548	13	.....	13
Michigan	185,190	131,300	34,795	11	.....	11
Minnesota	93,903	53,315	3,267	5	.....	5
Mississippi	34,854	75,750	5,797	.....	8	8
Missouri	153,566	208,609	35,045	.....	15	15
Nebraska	54,959	28,523	3, 853	3	.....	3
Nevada	8,732	9,611	....	.....	3	3
New Hampshire	44,852	40,794	528	5	.....	5
New Jersey	120,555	122,565	2,617	.....	9	9
New York	555,544	534,511	12,373	35	.....	35
North Carolina	115,878	124,204	1,136	.....	10	10
Ohio	375,048	340,821	6,456	22	.....	22
Oregon	20,619	19,948	249	3	.....	3
Pennsylvania	444,704	407,428	20,668	29	.....	29
Rhode Island	18,195	10,779	236	4	.....	4
South Carolina	58,071	112,312	566	.....	7	7
Tennessee	107,677	128,191	5,916	.....	12	12
Texas	57,815	156,228	27,405	.....	8	8
Vermont	45,090	18,181	1,212	5	.....	5
Virginia	84,020	127,976	139	.....	11	11
West Virginia	46,243	57,391	9,079	.....	5	5
Wisconsin	144,397	114,634	7,080	10	.....	10
Total	4,449,053	4,442,035	307,306	214	155	369

FOURTEENTH NATIONAL CONVENTION.

Held in Chicago, Ill., July 8 to 11, 1884—Cleveland and Hendricks Nominated.

The Fourteenth National convention of the Democratic party was called to order by William H. Barnum of Connecticut, chairman of the national committee, at Chicago, Ill., July 8, 1884. Richard B. Hubbard of Texas was chosen temporary chairman and William F. Vilas of Wisconsin permanent chairman.

The rules of the convention of 1880 were adopted, with a modification that in voting for a candidate, no State should be allowed to change its vote until the roll of States had been called and every State had cast its vote. The following platform reported by Mr. Morrison of Illinois was adopted without amendment—viz.:

The Democratic party of the Union, through its representatives in national convention assembled, recognizes that as the nation grows older new issues are born of time and progress and old issues perish. But the fundamental principles of the Democracy, approved by the united voice of the people, remain and will ever remain as the best and only security for the continuance of free government. The preservation of personal rights; the equality of all citizens before the law; the reserved rights of the States, and the supremacy of the federal government within the limits of the constitution will ever form the true basis of our liberties, and can never be surrendered without destroying that balance of rights and powers which enables a continent to be developed in peace, and social order to be maintained by means of local self-government. But it is indispensable for the practical application and enforcement of these fundamental principles that the government should not always be controlled by one political party. Frequent change of administration is as necessary as constant recurrence to the popular will. Otherwise abuses grow, and the government, instead of being carried on for the general welfare, becomes an instrumentality for imposing heavy burdens on the many who are governed for the benefit of the few who govern. Public servants thus become arbitrary rulers. This is now the condition of the country; hence a change is demanded.

The Republican party, so far as principle is concerned, is a reminiscence. In practice it is an organization for enriching those who control its machinery. The frauds and jobbery which have been brought to light in every department of the government are sufficient to have called for reform within the Republican party; yet those in authority, made reckless by the long possession of power, have succumbed to its corrupting influence and have placed in nomination a ticket against which the independent portion of the party are in open revolt. Therefore a change is demanded. Such a change was alike necessary in 1876, but the will of the people was then defeated by a fraud which can never be forgotten nor condoned. Again, in 1880, the change demanded by the people was defeated by the lavish use of money contributed by unscrupulous contractors and shameless jobbers, who had bargained for unlawful profits or high office. The Republican party, during its illegal, its stolen and its bought tenures of power, has steadily decayed in moral character and political capacity. Its platform promises are now a list of past failures. It demands the restoration of our navy—it has squandered hundreds of millions to create a navy that does not exist. It calls upon congress to remove the burdens under which American shipping has been depressed; it imposed and has continued those burdens. It professes a policy of reserving the public lands for small holdings by actual settlers—it has given away the people's heritage till now a few railroads and non-resident aliens, individual and corporate, possess a larger area than that of all our farms between the two seas. It professes a preference for free institutions—it organized and tried to legalize a control of State elections by federal

troops. It professes a desire to elevate labor—it has subjected American workingmen to the competition of convict and imported contract labor. It professes gratitude to all who were disabled or died in the war leaving widows and orphans—it left to a Democratic House of Representatives the first effort to equalize both bounty and pensions. It proffers a pledge to correct the irregularities of tariff—it created and has continued them. Its own tariff commission confesses the needs of more than 20 per cent. reduction—its congress gave a reduction of less than four per cent. It professes the protection of the American manufactures—it has subjected them to an increasing flood of manufactured goods and a hopeless competition with manufacturing nations, not one of which taxes raw material. It professes to protect all American industries—it has impoverished many to subsidize a few. It professes the protection of American labor—it has depleted the returns of American agriculture and industry followed by half of our people. It professes the equality of all men before the law, attempting to fix the status of colored citizens—the acts of its congress were overset by the decisions of its courts. It "accepts anew the duty of leading in the work of progress and reform"—its caught criminals are permitted to escape through contrived delays or actual connivance in the prosecution. Honeycombed with corruption, outbreaking exposures no longer shock its moral sense. Its honest members, its independent journals no longer maintain a successful contest for authority in its councils or a veto upon bad nominations. That change is necessary is proved by an existing surplus of more than $100,000,000, which has yearly been collected from a suffering people. Unnecessary taxation is unjust taxation. We denounce the Republican party for having failed to relieve the people from crushing war taxes, which have paralyzed business, crippled industry, and deprived labor of employment and of just reward.

The Democracy pledges itself to purify the administration from corruption, to restore economy, to revive respect for law, and to reduce taxation to the lowest limit consistent with due regard to the preservation of the faith of the nation to its creditors and pensioners. Knowing full well, however, that legislation affecting the operations of the people should be cautious and conservative in methods, not in advance of public opinion, but responsive to its demands, the Democratic party is pledged to revise the tariff in a spirit of fairness to all interests. But, in making reduction in taxes it is not proposed to injure any domestic industries, but rather to promote their healthy growth. From the foundation of this government taxes collected at the custom-house have been the chief source of federal revenue. Such they must continue to be. Moreover, many industries have come to rely upon legislation for successful continuance, so that any change of law must be at every step regardful of the labor and capital thus involved. The process of the reform must be subject in the execution to this plain dictate of justice—all taxation shall be limited to the requirements of economical government. The necessary reduction and taxation can and must be effected without depriving American labor of the ability to compete successfully with foreign labor and without imposing lower rates of duty than will be ample to cover any increased cost of production which may exist in consequence of the higher rate of wages prevailing in this country. Sufficient revenue to pay all the expenses of the federal government economically administered, including pensions, interest and principal of the public debt, can be got under our present system of taxation from the custom-house taxes on fewer imported articles, bearing heaviest on articles of luxury and bearing lightest on articles of necessity. We therefore denounce the abuses of the existing tariff, and subject to the preceding limitations, we demand that federal taxation shall be exclusively for public purposes and shall not exceed the needs of the government economically administered.

The system of direct taxation known as the "internal revenue" is a war tax, and so long as the law continues the money derived thereform should be sacredly devoted to the relief of the people from the remaining burdens of the war, and be made a fund to defray the expense of the care and comfort of

worthy soldiers disabled in line of duty in the wars of the republic, and for the payment of such pensions as congress may from time to time grant to such soldiers, a like fund for the sailors having already been provided; and any surplus shall be paid into the treasury.

We favor an American, continental policy based upon more intimate commercial and political relations with the fifteen sister republics of North, Central and South America, but entangling alliances with none.

We believe in honest money, the gold and silver coinage of the constitution, and a circulating medium convertible into such money without loss.

Asserting the equality of all men before the law, we hold that it is the duty of the government in its dealings with the people to mete out equal and exact justice to all citizens of whatever nativity, race, color or persuasion, religious and political.

We believe in a free ballot and a fair count, and we recall to the memory of the people that noble struggle of the Democrats in the forty-fifth and forty-sixth congresses, by which a reluctant Republican oppostion was compelled to assent to legislation making everywhere illegal the presence of troops at the polls, as the conclusive proof that a Democratic administration will preserve liberty with order.

That the selection of federal officers for the Territories should be restricted to citizens previously residents therein.

We oppose sumptuary laws which vex the citizen and interfere with individual liberty.

We favor honest civil service reform and a compensation of all United States officers by fixed salaries; the separation of church and State and the diffusion of free education by common schools, so that every child in the land may be taught the rights and duties of citizenship.

While we favor all legislation which will tend to the equitable distribution of property, to the prevention of monopoly, and to the strict enforcement of individual rights against corporate abuses, we hold that the welfare of society depends upon a scrupulous regard for the right of property as defined by law. We believe that labor is best rewarded where it is freest and most enlightened. It should therefore be fostered and cherished. We favor the repeal of all laws restricting the free action of labor, and the enactment of laws by which labor organizations may be incorporated, and of all such legislation as will tend to enlighten the people as to the true relations of capital and labor.

We believe that the public land ought, so far as possible, to be kept as homesteads for actual settlers; that all unearned lands heretofore improvidently granted to railroad corporations by the action of the Republican party should be restored to the public domain; and that no more grants of land shall be made to corporations, or be allowed to fall into the ownership of alien absentees.

We are opposed to all propositions which, upon any pretext, would convert the general government into a machine for collecting taxes to be distributed among the States or the citizens thereof.

In reaffirming the declaration of the Democratic platform of 1856, that the liberal principles embodied by Jefferson in the declaration of independence, and sanctioned in the constitution, which makes ours the land of liberty and the asylum of the oppressed of every nation, have ever been cardinal principles in the Democratic faith, we nevertheless do not sanction the importation of foreign labor or the admission of servile races, unfitted by habits, training, religion or kindred, for absorption into the great body of our people, or for the citizenship which our laws confer. American civilization demands that against the immigration or importation of Mongolians to these shores our gates be closed.

The Democratic party insists that it is the duty of the government to protect with equal fidelity and vigilance the rights of its citizens, native and naturalized, at home and abroad, and to the end that this protection may be assured, United States papers of naturalization, issued by courts of com-

petent jurisdiction, must be respected by the executive and legislative departments of our own government and all foreign powers. It is an imperative duty of this government to efficiently protect all the rights of persons and property of every American citizen in foreign lands, and demand and enforce full reparation for any invasion thereof. An American citizen is only responsible to his own government for any act done in his own country or under her flag, and can only be tried therefor on her own soil, and according to her laws; and no power exists in this government to expatriate an American citizen to be tried in any foreign land for any such act.

This country has never had a well-defined and executed foreign policy save under Democratic administration. That policy has ever been in regard to foreign nations, so long as they do not act detrimental to the interests of the country or hurtful to our citizens, to let them alone; that as a result of this policy we recall the acquisition of Louisiana, Florida, California, and of the adjacent Mexican territory by purchase alone, and contrast these grand acquisitions of Democratic statesmanship with the purchase of Alaska, the sole fruit of a Republican administration of nearly a quarter of a century.

The federal government should care for and improve the Mississippi river and other great waterways of the republic, so as to secure for the interior States easy and cheap transportation to tide water.

Under a long period of Democratic rule and policy our merchant marine was fast overtaking and on the point of outstripping that of Great Britain. Under twenty years of Republican rule and policy our commerce has been left to British bottoms, and the American flag has almost been swept off the high seas. Instead of the Republican party's British policy, we demand for the people of the United States an American policy. Under Democratic rule and policy our merchants and sailors, flying the stars and stripes in every port, successfully searched out a market for the varied products of American industry; under a quarter century of Republican rule and policy, despite our manifest advantage over all other nations in high-paid labor, favorable climate, and teeming soils; despite freedom of trade among all these United States; despite their population by the foremost races of men, and an annual immigration of the young, thrifty, and adventurous of all nations; despite our freedom here from the inherited burdens of life and industry and the Old World monarchies, their costly war navies, their vast tax-consuming, non-producing standing armies; despite twenty years of peace, that Republican rule and policy have managed to surrender to Great Britain, along with our commerce, the control of the markets of the world. Instead of the Republican party's British policy we demand, in behalf of the American Democracy, an American policy. Instead of the Republican party's discredited scheme and false pretense of friendship for American labor, expressed by imposing taxes, we demand, in behalf of the Democracy, freedom for American labor by reducing taxes to the end that these United States may compete with unhindered powers for the primacy among nations in all the arts of peace and fruits of liberty.

With profound regret we have been apprised by the venerable statesman through whose person was struck that blow at the vital principle of republics, acquiescence in the will of the majority, that he cannot permit us again to place in his hands the leadership of the Democratic hosts, for the reason that the achievement of reform in the administration of the federal government is an undertaking now too heavy for his age and failing strength. Rejoicing that his life has been prolonged until the general judgment of our fellow-countrymen is united in the wish that that wrong were righted in his person, for the Democracy of the United States we offer to him, in his withdrawal from public cares, not only our respectful sympathy and esteem, but also that best homage of freemen, the pledge of our devotion to the principles and the cause now inseparable in the history of this Republic from the labors and the name of Samuel J. Tilden.

With this statement of the hopes, principles, and purposes of the Democratic party, the great issue of reform and change in administration is

submitted to the people, in calm confidence that the popular voice will pronounce in favor of new men and new and more favorable conditions for the growth of industry, the extension of trade and employment and due reward of labor and of capital, and the general welfare of the whole country.

For this platform Mr. Benjamin F. Butler of Massachusetts offered the following substitute, which was rejected:

Resolved, That no taxes, direct or indirect, can be rightfully imposed upon the people except to meet the expenses of an economically administered government; to bring taxation down to this point is true administrative reform.

Resolved, That the people will tolerate direct taxation for the ordinary expenses of the government only in the case of dire necessity or war.

Resolved, Therefore, that the revenue necessary for such expenses should be raised by customs duties upon imports after the manner of our fathers.

Resolved. That in levying such duties two principles should be carefully observed. First, that all materials used in the arts and manufactures, and the necessaries of life not produce in this country shall come in free, and that all articles of luxury should be taxed as high as possible up to the collection point; second, that in imposing customs duties the law must be carefully adjusted to promote American enterprise and industries, not to create monopolies, and to cherish and foster American labor.

Faithful industry is the basis on which the whole fabric of civilization rests under our system. Toilers are producers. The mass of the people are the governing power. Being the true Democracy, they demand the fullest consideration of measures for their education, their advancement, and their protection. Labor and capital are allies not enemies. No contention can arise between them if each has done his duty to the other. Under the existing laws, State and national, all such controversies can only be settled by brute force—capital starving labor and labor despoiling capital, the contention ending in the crippling or the ruining of both. But capital is strong; labor is weak; therefore labor has a right to demand of the government to establish tribunals in which these great controversies which may lead to revolution may be judicially and justly determined with the fullest powers to enforce their decrees; to provide by law that laboring men may combine and organize for their own protection as capital may be incorporated and combined for its protection; and that all devices either by contract or terrorism, or otherwise, to obstruct and set aside this right in laboring men are oppressive and in derogation of the rights of an American freeman, and should be made penal by law.

All the great woes upon our country have come because of imported labor. Our fathers made this land the home of the free for all men appreciating our institutions, with energy enough to bring themselves here, and such we welcome. But our country ought never to be a lazar-house for the deportation of the pauper labor of other countries through government aid, or the importation of the same kind of labor as an instrument with which capital can debase American workingmen and women from the proud position they now occupy, by competing with them by imported or convict labor, while at the same time capital asks and receives protection of its interests at the hands of the government under guise of providing for American labor. This evil, like all others that find birth in the cupidity and seldshness of men, labor demands should be redressed by law. Labor has a right to demand a just share of the profits of its own production.

The future of our country unites with the laboring men in the demand for the liberal support by the United States of the school system for the common school education of all the children, the same affording a sufficient foundation for the coming generations to acquire due knowledge of their duties as citizens.

That every species of monopoly engenders two classes, the very rich and

the very poor, both of which are equally hurtful to a republic, which should give to its people equal rights and equal privileges under the law.

Resolved, That the public lands of the United States were the equal heritage of all its citizens, and should have been held open to the use of all in such quantities only as are needed for cultivation and improvement by all. Therefore, we view with alarm the absorption of those lands by corporations and individuals in large acres—some of them more than equal to princely domains—and demand of congress to apply appropriate remedies with a stern hand, so that the lands of the people may be held by the many and not by the few.

Resolved, That the public lands of the nation are held by the government in trust for those who make their homes in the United States and who mean to become citizens of the republic, and we protest against the purchase and monopolization of these lands by corporations and the alien aristocracy of Europe.

Resolved, That all corporate bodies created either in the States or nation for the purpose of performing public duties are public servants, and to be regulated in all their actions by the same power that created them at his own will, and that it is within the power and is the duty of the creator to so govern the creature that by its acts it shall become neither a monopoly nor a burden upon the people, but be their servant and convenience, which is the true test of its usefulness. Therefore we call upon congress to exercise great constitutional power for regulating inter-State commerce; to provide that by no contrivance whatever, under forms of law or otherwise, shall discriminating rates and charges for the transportation of freight and travel be made in favor of the few against the many, or enchance the rates of transportation between the producer and the consumer.

The various offices of the government belong to the people thereof, and who rightfully demand to exercise and fill the same whenever they are fitted by capacity, integrity, and energy, the last two qualifications never to be tested by any scholastic examination. We hold that frequent changes of federal officials are shown to be necessary, first, to counteract the growing aristocratic tendencies to a caste of life offices; second, experience having shown that all investigation is useless while the incumbent and his associates hold their places. Frequent change of officers is necessary to the discovery and punishment of frauds, peculations, defalcations, and embezzlements of the public money.

Resolved, That we adhere to and affirm the doctrine enunciated and established by Jackson; that the government alone has the power to establish and issue money for the people; that the issue of the legal-tender note, made by the government as a method of borrowing money to carry on the war in the exercise of a constitutional power, has become the fixed currency of the United States, equal to coined gold and silver; that neither policy nor duty calls for any meddling with it.

The convention proceeded to ballot for a candidate for President, the first ballot resulting as follows:

Grover Cleveland of New York	392
Thomas F. Bayard of Delaware	170
Allen G. Thurman of Ohio	88
Samuel J. Randall of Pennsylvania	78
Joseph E. McDonald of Indiana	56
John G. Carlisle of Kentucky	27
Scattering	9

On the second ballot Mr. Cleveland was nominated, the vote standing as follows—viz.:

Cleveland	683	Hendricks	45½
Bayard	81½	Scattering	10

Thomas A. Hendricks of Indiana was unanimously nominated as a candidate for Vice-President.

The popular and electoral vote cast is as follows:

STATES.	POPULAR.				ELECTORAL VOTE.		
	Blaine, Republican.	Cleveland, Democrat.	Butler, Greenback.	St. John, Prohib.	Blaine.	Cleveland.	Total.
Alabama	59,144	92,973	762	610	.....	10	10
Arkansas	50,895	72,927	1,847	.....	.....	7	7
California	102,416	89,288	2,017	2,901	8	.....	8
Colorado	36,166	27,603	1,962	762	3	.....	3
Connecticut	65,898	67,182	1,685	2,494	.....	6	6
Delaware	13,053	16,976	10	64	.....	3	3
Florida	28,031	31,769	.....	72	.....	4	4
Georgia	47,692	94,053	135	168	.....	12	12
Illinois	337,411	312,584	10,849	12,005	22	.....	22
Indiana	238,480	244,992	8,293	3,028	.....	15	15
Iowa	197,089	177,316	.....	1,472	13	.....	13
Kansas	154,406	90,132	16,341	4,954	9	.....	9
Kentucky	118,122	152,961	1,693	3,139	12	.....	13
Louisiana	46,347	62,546	120	338	8	.....	8
Maine	71,716	51,656	3,994	2,143	6	.....	6
Maryland	85,748	96,866	578	2,827	.....	8	8
Massachusetts	146,724	122,352	24,382	9,925	14	.....	15
Michigan	192,669	189,361	753	18,403	13	.....	13
Minnesota	111,685	70,065	3,583	4,684	7	.....	7
Mississippi	43,509	76,510	.....	.....	.....	9	9
Missouri	202,928	235,988	.....	2,153	.....	16	16
Nebraska	76,903	54,391	.....	2,899	5	.....	5
Nevada	7,193	5,587	26	.....	3	.....	3
New Hamp	43,250	39,187	552	1,571	4	.....	4
New Jersey	123,366	127,778	3,456	6,153	.....	9	9
New York	562,001	563,048	17,002	25,001	.....	36	36
North Carolina	125,068	142,952	.....	454	.....	11	11
Ohio	400,082	368,286	5,170	11,269	23	.....	23
Oregon	26,860	24,604	726	492	3	.....	3
Pennsylvania	473,804	392,785	17,002	15,737	30	.....	30
Rhode Island	19,030	12,391	422	928	4	.....	4
South Carolina	21,733	69,764	.....	.....	.....	9	9
Tennessee	124,090	133,270	957	1,151	.....	12	12
Texas	91,701	223,679	3,321	3,508	.....	13	13
Vermont	39,514	17,331	785	1,752	4	.....	4
Virginia	139,356	145,497	.....	138	.....	12	12
West Virginia	63,096	67,317	805	939	.....	6	6
Wisconsin	161,157	146,459	4,598	7,656	11	.....	11
Total	4,848,334	4,911,017	133,825	151,809	182	219	401

FIFTEENTH NATIONAL CONVENTION.

Held in St. Louis, Mo., June 5 to 7, 1888—Cleveland and Thurman the Nominees.

The Fifteenth National convention of the Democratic party convened at St. Louis, Mo., June 5, 1888, and was called to order by W. H. Barnum of Connecticut, chairman of the national committee.

Stephen M. White of California was made temporary chairman and Patrick A. Collins of Massachusetts, permanent president.

The following platform reported from the Committee on Resolutions by Henry Watterson of Kentucky, was adopted without amendment—viz.:

The Democratic party of the United States, in national convention assembled, renews the pledge of its fidelity to Democratic faith, and reaffirms the platform adopted by its representatives at the convention of 1884, and indorses the views expressed by President Cleveland in his last earnest message to congress as the correct interpretation of that platform upon the question of tariff reduction, and also indorses the efforts of our Democratic representatives in congress to secure a reduction of excessive taxation.

Chief among its principles of party faith are the maintenance of an indissoluble Union of free and indestructible States, now about to enter upon its second century of unexampled progress and renown; devotion to a plan of government regulated by a written constitution, strictly specifying every granted power and expressly reserving to the States or people the entire ungranted residue of power; the encouragement of a jealous popular vigilance, directed to all who have been chosen for brief terms to enact and execute the laws, and are charged with the duty of preserving peace, insuring equality, and establishing justice.

The Democratic party welcomes an exacting scrutiny of the administration of the executive power, which four years ago was committed to its trust in the selection of Grover Cleveland president of the United States, but it challenges the most searching scrutiny concerning its fidelity and devotion to the pledges which then invited the suffrages of the people. During a most critical period of our financial affairs, resulting from overtaxation, the anomalous condition of our currency, and a public debt unmatured, it has by the adoption of a wise and conservative course not only averted disaster but greatly promoted the prosperity of the people.

It has reversed the improvident and unwise policy of the Republican party touching the public domain, and has reclaimed from corporations and syndicates alien and domestic, and restored to the people nearly 100,000,000 acres of valuable land to be sacredly held as homesteads for our citizens.

While carefully guarding the interests of the taxpayers and conforming strictly to the principles of justice and equity, it has paid out more for pensions and bounties to the soldiers and sailors of the republic than was ever paid before during an equal period.

It has adopted and consistently pursued a firm and prudent foreign policy, preserving peace with all nations while scrupulously maintaining all the rights and interests of our own government and people at home and abroad. The exclusion from our shores of Chinese laborers has been effectually secured under the provisions of a treaty, the operation of which has been postponed by the action of a Republican majority in the Senate.

Honest reform in the civil service has been inaugurated and maintained by President Cleveland, and he has brought the public service to the highest standard of efficiency, not only by rule and precept, but by the example of his own untiring and unselfish administration of public affairs.

In every branch and department of the government under Democratic control the rights and welfare of all the people have been guarded and defended; every public interest has been protected, and the equality of all our citizens before the law without regard to race or color has been steadfastly maintained. Upon its record thus exhibited and upon the pledge of a continuance to the people of these benefits the Democracy invokes a renewal of popular trust by the re-election of a chief magistrate who has been faithful, able, and prudent. We invoke in addition to that trust the transfer also to the Democracy of the entire legislative power.

The Republican party, controlling the Senate and resisting in both houses

of congress a reformation of unjust and unequal tax laws which have outlasted the necessities of war and are now undermining the abundance of a long peace, deny to the people equality before the law and the fairness and the justice which are their right. Then the cry of American labor for a better share in the rewards of industry is stifled with false pretenses, enterprise is fettered and bound down to home markets, capital is discouraged with doubt, and unequal, unjust laws can neither be properly amended nor repealed. The Democratic party will continue with all the power confided to it the struggle to reform these laws in accordance with the pledges of its last platform, indorsed at the ballot-box by the suffrages of the people.

Of all the industrious freemen of our land the immense majority, including every tiller of the soil, gains no advantage from excessive tax laws, but the price of nearly everything they buy is increased by the favoritism of an unequal system of tax legislation. All unnecessary taxation is unjust taxation. It is repugnant to the creed of Democracy that by such taxation the cost of the necessaries of life should be unjustifiably increased to all our people. Judged by Democratic principles the interests of the people are betrayed when by unnecessary taxation trusts and combinations are permitted to exist, which while unduly enriching the few that combine, rob the body of our citizens by depriving them of the benefits of natural competition.

Every Democratic rule of governmental action is violated when, through unnecssary taxation, a vast sum of money far beyond the needs of an economical administration is drawn from the people and the channels of trade and accumulated as demoralizing surplus in the national treasury. The money now lying idle in the general treasury, resulting from superfluous taxation, amounts to more than one hundred and twenty-five millions, and the surplus collected is reaching the sum of more than sixty millions annually. Debauched by this immense temptation the remedy of the Republican party is to meet and exhaust by extravagant appropriation and expenses, whether constitutional or not, the accumulation of extravagant taxation. The Democratic policy is to enforce frugality in public expense and abolish unnecessary taxation.

Our established domestic industries and enterprises should not and need not be endangered by the reduction and correction of the burdens of taxation. On the contrary, a fair and careful revision of our tax laws, with due allowance for the difference between the wages of American and foreign labor, must promote and encourage every branch of such industries and enterprises by giving them assurance of an extended market and steady and continuous operations. In the interests of American labor, which should in no event be neglected, the revision of our tax laws contemplated by the Democratic party should promote the advantage of such labor by cheapening the cost of necessities of life in the home of every workingman, and at the same time securing him steady and remunerative employment. Upon this question of tariff reform so closely concerning every phase of our national life, and upon every question involved in the problem of good government, the Democratic party submits its principles and professions to the intelligent suffrages of the American people.

The following resolutions, presented respectively by Messrs. Scott of Pennsylvania, Lehman of Iowa, and Abbett of New Jersey, were severally adopted, viz.:

Resolved, That this convention hereby indorses and recommends the early passage of the bill for the reduction of the revenue now pending in the House of Representatives.

Resolved, That a just and liberal policy should be pursued in reference to the Territories; that right of self-government is inherent in the people and guaranteed under the constitution; that the Territories of Washington, Dakota, Montana, and New Mexico, are by virtue of population and development entitled to admission into the Union of States; and we unqualifiedly condemn the course of the Republican party in refusing Statehood and self-government to their people.

Resolved, That we express our cordial sympathy with the struggling people of all nations in their efforts to secure for themselves the inestimable blessings of self-government and civil and religious liberty, and we especially declare our sympathy with the efforts of those noble patriots who, led by Gladstone and Parnell, have conducted their grand and peaceful contest for home rule in Ireland.

The following shows the popular and electoral vote cast:

POPULAR VOTE OF 1888.

STATES.	REP. Harrison.	DEM. Cleveland.	UNIT. LAB. Streeter.	PROHIB. Fisk.
Alabama	57,197	117,320	.....	593
Arkansas	58,752	85,962	10,613	614
California	124,816	117,729	.....	5,761
Colorado	50,774	37,567	1,266	2,191
Connecticut	74,584	74,920	240	4,234
Delaware	12,973	16,414	.....	400
Florida	26,659	39,561	.....	403
Georgia	40,446	100,449	.....	1,808
Illinois	370,475	348,371	7,134	21,703
Indiana	263,361	261,013	2,694	9,881
Iowa	211,958	179,877	9,105	3,550
Kansas	182,904	102,745	37,788	6,779
Kentucky	155,134	183,800	.....	5,225
Louisiana	30,701	85,026	39	127
Maine	73,734	50,482	1,345	2,690
Maryland	99,986	106,168	.....	4,767
Massachusetts	183,892	151,855	.....	8,701
Michigan	236,387	213,469	4,555	20,945
Minnesota	142,492	104,385	1,097	15,311
Mississippi	30,096	85,471	222	218
Missouri	236,253	261,954	18,589	4,540
Nebraska	108,425	80,552	4,226	9,429
Nevada	7,238	5,326	.....	41
New Hampshire	45,728	43,456	42	1,593
New Jersey	144,360	151,508	.....	7,933
New York	650,338	635,965	626	30,231
North Carolina	134,784	147,902	.....	.....
Ohio	416,054	396,455	3,496	24,356
Oregon	33,291	26,522	363	1,677
Pennsylvania	523,585	444,327	3,877	20,708
Rhode Island	21,969	17,530	.....	1,251
South Carolina	13,740	65,825	.....	.....
Tennessee	138,988	158,779	.....	5,969
Texas	88,280	234,883	29,459	4,749
Vermont	45,192	16,788	.....	1,459
Virginia	150,438	151,977	.....	1,678
West Virginia	78,171	78,677	1,508	1,084
Wisconsin	176,553	155,232	8,552	14,277
Total	5,440,708	5,536,242	146,836	246,876

ELECTORAL VOTE.

	Harrison.	Cleveland.		Harrison.	Cleveland.
Alabama	....	10	Missouri	....	16
Arkansas	....	7	Nebraska	5	....
California	8	....	Nevada	3	....
Colorado	3	....	New Hampshire	4	....
Connecticut	....	6	New Jersey	....	9

	Harrison.	Cleveland.		Harrison.	Cleveland.
Delaware	....	3	New York	36	...
Florida	....	4	North Carolina	....	11
Georgia	....	12	Ohio	23	....
Illinois	22	....	Oregon	3	....
Indiana	15	....	Pennsylvania	30	....
Iowa	13	....	Rhode Island	4	....
Kansas	9	.	South Carolina	....	9
Kentucky	....	13	Tennessee	....	12
Louisiana	....	8	Texas	....	13
Maine	6	....	Vermont	4	....
Maryland	....	8	Virginia	....	12
Massachusetts	14	....	West Virginia	....	6
Michigan	13	....	Wisconsin	11	....
Minnesota	7	....			
Mississippi	....	9	Total	233	168

SIXTEENTH NATIONAL CONVENTION.

Held in Chicago, Ill., June 21, 22, 23, 1892—Cleveland and Stevenson the Nominees.

The Sixteenth National convention of the Democratic party was called to order in Chicago, Ill., on Tuesday, June 21, 1892, by Senator Calvin S. Brice of Ohio as chairman of the Democratic national committee, who, on behalf of said committee, named as temporary chairman W. C. Owens of Kentucky and as temporary secretary S. P. Sheerin of Indiana.

On motion of General Edward S. Bragg of Wisconsin, the rules of the last national convention were adopted for the present, and the States were then called for members of the Committees on Credentials, Permanent Organization, Platform, Rules and Order of Business.

A resolution offered by Representative Cable of Illinois, tendering the profound sympathy of the convention to "that distinguished American, James G. Blaine, in the many afflictions which have befallen him," was adopted and the convention adjourned until the following day at 11 o'clock A. M.

Second Day, Wednesday, June 22.

Mr. John E. Lamb of Indiana, chairman of the Committee on Credentials, submitted a unanimous report, concluding with the recommendation that the Territories of Arizona and New Mexico be each given six seats on the floor of the convention, which report was adopted.

The committee on Permanent Organization submitted a report recommending Representative William L. Wilson of West Virginia for permanent chairman and Simeon P. Sheerin of Indiana for secretary with a list of assistants, which report was adopted without division.

Upon assuming the chair—to which he was conducted by a committee of five—Mr. Wilson delivered an able address.

Mr. English of Indiana, Chairman of the Committee on rules, then submitted a report recommending that the following order of business be followed by the convention, viz.:

1. Report of committee on credentials.
2. Report of committee on permanent organization.
3. Report of committee on resolutions and platform.
4. Nominations of candidates for office of president of the United States.
5. Nominations of a candidate for office of vice-president.

The committee also recommended that the rules of the last Democratic national convention be adopted for the government of this convention.

The report was adopted without division, although there had been a sharp fight in the committee over the unit rule, it being retained by the vote of 23 to 15.

The Committee on Resolutions not being ready to report, the roll of States was then called for the presentation of names of members of the national and notification committees.

The convention then took a recess until 5 o'clock P. M.

After the Recess.

Mr. Charles H. Jones of Missouri, chairman of the Committee on Resolutions, submitted the following platform :

SECTION 1. The representatives of the Demoeratic party of the United States, in national convention assembled, do reaffirm their allegiance to the principles of the party as formulated by Jefferson and exemplified by the long and illustrious line of his successors in Democratic leadership from Madison to Cleveland; we believe the public welfare demands that these principles be applied to the federal government through the accession to power of the party that advocates them; and we solemnly declare that the need of a return to these fundamental principles of a free popular government, based on home rule and individual liberty, was never more urgent than now, when the tendency to centralize all power at the federal capital has become a menace to the reserved rights of the States that strikes at the very roots of our government under the constitution as framed by the fathers of the republic.

SEC. 2. We warn the people of our common country, jealous of the preservation of their free institutions, that the policy of federal control of elections to which the Republican party has committed itself is fraught with the gravest dangers, scarcely less momentous than would result from a revolution practically establishing monarchy on the ruins of the republic. It strikes at the North as well as the South, and injures the colored citizen even more than the white; it means a horde of deputy marshals at every polling place armed with federal power, returning boards appointed and controlled by federal authority, the outrage of the electoral rights of the people in the several States, the subjugation of the colored people to the control of the party in power, and the reviving of race antagonisms now happily abated, of the utmost peril to the safety and happiness of all; a measure deliberately and justly described by a leading Republican senator as "the most infamous bill that ever crossed the threshold of the Senate." Such a policy, if sanctioned by law, would mean the dominance of a self-perpetuating oligarchy of office-holders, and the party first intrusted with its machinery could be dislodged from power only by an appeal to the reserved right of the people to resist oppression, which is inherent in all self-governing communities. Two years ago this revolutionary policy was emphatically condemned by the people at the polls; but in contempt of that verdict, the Republican party has defiantly

declared in its latest authoritative utterance that its success in the coming elections will mean the enactment of the force bill and the usurpation of despotic control over elections in all the States.

Believing that the preservation of republican government in the United States is dependent upon the defeat of this policy of legalized force and fraud, we invite the support of all citizens who desire to see the constitution maintained in all its integrity with the laws pursuant thereto, which have given our country a hundred years of unexampled prosperity, and we pledge the Democratic party, if it be intrusted with power, not only to the defeat of the force bill, but also to relentless opposition to the Republican policy of profligate expenditure, which, in the short space of two years, has squandered an enormous surplus and emptied an overflowing treasury, after piling new burdens of taxation upon the already overtaxed labor of the country.

SEC. 3. We reiterate the oft-repeated doctrines of the Democratic party that the necessity of the government is the only justification for taxation, and whenever a tax is unnecessary it is unjustifiable; that when custom house taxation is levied upon articles of any kind produced in this country, the difference between the cost of labor here and labor abroad, when such a difference exists, fully measures any possible benefits to labor, and the enormous additional impositions of the existing tariff fall with crushing force upon our farmers and workingmen and for the mere advantage of the few whom it enriches, exact from labor a grossly unjust share of the expense of the government and we demand such a revision of the tariff laws as will remove their iniquitous inequalities, lighten their oppressions and put them on a constitutional and equitable basis. But in making reduction in taxes it is not proposed to injure any domestic industries, but rather to promote their healthy growth. From the foundation of this government taxes collected at the custom house have been the chief source of federal revenue. Such they must continue to be. Moreover, many industries have come to rely upon legislation for successful continuance, so that any change of law must be at every step regardful of the labor and capital thus involved. The process of reform must be subject in the execution of this plain dictate of justice.

We denounce the McKinley tariff law enacted by the Fifty-first congress as the culminating atrocity of class legislation; we indorse the efforts made by the Democrats of the present congress to modify its most oppressive features in the direction of free raw materials and cheaper manufactured goods that enter into general consumption, and we promise its repeal as one of the beneficent results that will follow the action of the people in intrusting power to the Democratic party. Since the McKinley tariff went into operation there have been ten reductions of the wages of laboring men to one increase. We deny that there has been any increase of prosperity to the country since that tariff went into operation, and we point to the dullness and distress, the wage reductions and strikes in the iron trade as the best possible evidence that no such prosperity has resulted from the McKinley act.

We call the attention of thoughtful Americans to the fact that after thirty years of restrictive taxes against the importation of foreign wealth, in exchange for our agricultural surplus, the homes and farms of the country have become burdened with a real estate mortgage debt of over two thousand five hundred million dollars, exclusive of all other forms of indebtedness; that in one of the chief agricultural States of the west there appears a real estate mortgage debt averaging $165 per capita of the total population; and that similar conditions and tendencies are shown to exist in the other agricultural exporting States. We denounce a policy which fosters no industry so much as it does that of the sheriff.

SEC. 4. Trade interchange on the basis of reciprocal advantages to the countries participating, is a time-honored doctrine of the Democratic faith, but we denounce the sham reciprocity which juggles with the people's desire for enlarged foreign markets and freer exchanges by pretending to establish closer trade relations for a country whose articles of export are almost ex-

clusively agricultural products with other countries that are also agricultural, while erecting a custom house barrier of prohibitive tariff taxes against the richest countries of the world that stand ready to take our entire surplus of products and to exchange therefor commodities which are necessaries and comforts of life among our own people.

SEC. 5. We recognize in the trusts and combinations, which are designed to enable capital to secure more than its just share of the joint product of capital and labor, a natural consequence of the prohibitive taxes which prevent the free competition which is the life of the honest trade, but we believe their worst evils can be abated by law, and we demand the rigid enforcement of the laws made to prevent and control them, together with such further legislation in restraint of their abuses as experience may show to be necessary.

SEC. 6. The Republican party, while professing a policy of reserving the public land for small holdings by actual settlers, has given away the people's heritage till now a few railroad and non-resident aliens, individual and corporate, possess a larger area than that of all our farms between the two seas. The last Democratic administration reversed the improvident and unwise policy of the Republican party touching the public domain, and reclaimed from corporations and syndicates, alien and domestic, and restored to the people nearly 100,000,000 acres of valuable land to be sacredly held as homesteads for our citizens, and we pledge ourselves to continue this policy until every acre of land so unlawfully held shall be reclaimed and restored to the people.

SEC. 7. We denounce the Republican legislation known as the Sherman act of 1890 as a cowardly makeshift, fraught with possibilities of danger in the future which should make all of its supporters, as well as its author, anxious for its speedy repeal. We hold to the use of both gold and silver as the standard money of the country, and to the coinage of both gold and silver without discriminating against either metal or charge for mintage, but the dollar unit of coinage of both metals must be of equal intrinsic and exchangeable value or be adjusted through international agreement or by such safeguards of legislation as shall insure the maintenance of the parity of the two metals, and the equal power of every dollar at all times in the markets and in the payment of debts; and we demand that all paper currency shall be kept at par with and redeemable in such coin. We insist upon this policy as especially necessary for the protection of farmers and laboring classes, the first and most defenseless victims of unstable money and a fluctuating currency.

SEC. 8. We recommend that the prohibitory 10 per cent. tax on State bank issues be repealed.

SEC. 9. Public office is a public trust. We reaffirm the declaration of the Democratic national convention of 1876 for the reform of the civil service and we call for the honest enactment of all laws relating to the same. The nomination of a president, as in the recent Republican convention, by delegates composed largely of his appointees, holding office at his pleasure, is a scandalous satire upon free popular institutions and a startling illustration of the methods by which a president may gratify his ambition. We denounce a policy under which federal office-holders usurp control of party conventions in the States, and we pledge the Democratic party to the reform of those and all other abuses which threaten individual liberty.

SEC. 10. The Democratic party is the only party that has ever given the country a foreign policy consistent and vigorous, compelling respect abroad and inspiring confidence at home. While avoiding entangling alliances it has aimed to cultivate friendly relations with other nations and especially with our neighbors on the American continent whose destiny is closely linked with our own, and we view with alarm the tendency to a policy of irritation and bluster which is liable at any time to confront us with the alternative of humiliation or war. We favor the maintenance of a navy strong enough for

all purposes of national defense and to maintain the honor and dignity of the country abroad.

SEC. 11. This country has always been the refuge of the oppressed from every land—exiles for conscience sake—and in the spirit of the founders of our government we condemn the oppression practiced by the Russian government upon its Lutheran and Jewish subjects and we call upon our national government, in the interest of justice and humanity, by all just and proper means, to use its best and promptest effort for bringing about a cessation of these cruel persecutions in the dominions of the Czar, and to secure to the oppressed equal rights. We tender our profound and earnest sympathy to those lovers of freedom who are struggling for home rule and the great cause of local self-government in Ireland.

SEC. 12. We heartily approve all legitimate efforts to prevent the United States from being used as the the dumping ground for the known criminals and professional paupers of Europe, and we demand the rigid enforcement of the laws against Chinese immigration and the importation of foreign workmen under contract to degrade American labor and lessen its wages, but we condemn and denounce any and all attempts to restrict the immigration of the industrious and worthy of foreign lands.

SEC. 13. This convention hereby renews the expression of appreciation of the patriotism of the soldiers and sailors of the union in the war for its preservation, and we favor just and liberal pensions for all disabled soldiers, their widows and dependents; but we demand that the work of the pension office shall be done industriously, impartially and honestly. We denounce the present administration of that office as incompetent, corrupt, disgraceful and dishonorable.

SEC. 14. The federal government should care for and improve the Mississippi river and other great waterways of the republic so as to secure for the interior States easy and cheap transportation to the tide water. When any waterway of the republic is of sufficient importance to demand the aid of the government—that such aid should be extended on a definite plan of continuous work until permanent improvement is secured.

SEC. 15. For purposes of national defense and the promotion of commerce between the States we recognize the early construction of the Nicaragua canal and its protection against foreign control as of great importance to the United States.

SEC. 16. Recognizing the World's Columbian Exposition as a national undertaking of vast importance, in which the general government has invited the co-operation of all the powers of the world, and appreciating the acceptance by many of such powers of the invitation so extended and the broad and liberal efforts being made by them to contribute to the grandeur of the undertaking, we are of opinion that congress should make such necessary financial provision as shall be requisite to the maintenance of the national honor and public faith.

SEC. 17. Popular education being the only safe basis of popular suffrage, we recommend to the several States most liberal appropriations for the public schools. Free common schools are the nursery of good government, and they have always received the fostering care of the Democratic party, which favors every means of increasing intelligence. Freedom of education, being an essential of civil and religious liberty, as well as a necessity for the development of intelligence, must not be interfered with under any pretext whatever. We are opposed to State interference with parental rights and rights of conscience in the education of children, as an infringement of the fundamental Democratic doctrine that the largest individual liberty consistent with the rights of others insures the highest type of American citizenship and the best government.

SEC. 18. We approve the action of the present House of Representatives in passing bills for the admission into the Union as States of the Territories of New Mexico and Arizona, and we favor the early admission of all the Terri-

tories having the necessary population and resources to entitle them to Statehood, and while they remain Territories, we hold that the officials appointed to administer the government of any Territory, together with the Districts of Columbia and Alaska, should be bona fide residents of the Territory or district in which their duties are to be performed. The Democratic party believes in home rule and the control of their own affairs by the people of the vicinage.

SEC. 19. We favor the legislation by congress, and State legislatures, to protect the lives and limbs of railway employes and those of other hazardous transportation companies and denounce the inactivity of the Republican party and particularly the Republican Senate for causing the defeat of measures beneficial and protective to this class of wage workers.

SEC. 20. We are in favor of the enactment by the States of laws for abolishing the notorious sweating system, for abolishing convict labor and for prohibiting the employment in factories of children under 15 years of age.

SEC 21. We are opposed to all sumptuary laws as an interference with the individual rights of the citizen.

SEC. 22. Upon this statement of principles and policies the Democratic party asks the intelligent judgment of the American people. It asks a change of administration and a change of party, in order that there may be a change of system and a change of methods, thus assuring the maintenance unimpaired of institutions under which the republic has grown great and powerful.

Mr. Lawrence T. Neal of Ohio on behalf of a minority of the committee on resolutions, moved to strike out of Section 3 all preceding the denunciation of the McKinley tariff act, and substituting in lieu thereof the following clause, viz.:

We denounce Republican protection as a fraud, a robbery of the great majority of the American people for the benefit of the few. We declare it to be a fundamental principle of the Democratic party that the federal government has no constitutional power to impose and collect tariff duties, except for the purposes of revenue only, and we demand that the collection of such taxes shall be limited to the necessities of the government when honestly and economically administered.

This substitute was advocated by Mr. Neal, Henry Watterson, Representatives Bourke Cochran of New York and Tom L. Johnson of Ohio and others, and opposed by Senator Vilas, who had read the platform to the convention. After debate and a conference with ex-Secretary Whitney, Senator Vilas and Mr. Jones stated that the committee were willing to accept Mr. Neal's proposition as an addition to the tariff plank. This was strenuously objected to by Messrs. Neal, Watterson and Johnson, and Mr. Neal demanded a call of States on his substitute.

The roll was thereupon called, resulting as follows, viz.:

STATE.	Aye.	No.	STATE.	Aye.	No.
Alabama	12	10	New Jersey	..	..
Arkansas	...	16	New York	72	8
California	..	18	North Carolina	17	20
Colorado	8	...	North Dakota	6	..
Connecticut	..	12	Ohio	46	5
Delaware	..	6	Oregon	7	1
Florida	3	5	Pennsylvania	..	64
Georgia	22	4	Rhode Island	..	8
Idaho	6	..	South Carolina	18	..
Illinois	48	..	South Dakota	1	7

STATE.	Aye.	No.	STATE.	Aye.	No.
Indiana	15	15	Tennessee	5	18
Iowa	26	..	Texas	30	..
Kansas	..	20	Vermont	..	..
Kentucky	26	..	Virginia	11	11
Louisiana	8	8	Washington	8	..
Maine	..	12	West Virginia	12	24
Maryland	7	9	Wisconsin	..	..
Massachusetts	26	4	Wyoming	6	2
Michigan	28	..	Alaska	..	..
Minnesota	..	18	Arizona	6	..
Mississippi	11	6	District of Columbia	..	2
Missouri	34	..	New Mexico	5	1
Montana	6	..	Oklahoma	2	..
Nebraska	16	..	Utah	2	..
Nevada	6	..	Indian Territory	2	..
New Hampshire	..	.			
			Total	564	342

During the roll-call several interruptions occurred by reason of the attempts made by members of various delegations to be individually recorded, the most notable instance being that of ex-Senator Wallace of Pennsylvania, who stated that on behalf of fifteen members of that delegation he protested against the power of a majority of the delegation to bind those fifteen men on questions of principle, and he appealed to the convention and demanded a call of the States.

The chairman ruled that the vote of the delegation as returned by its chairman would be received unless the convention decided otherwise, and further held that an appeal could not be taken during the roll-call.

Mr. Thomas M. Patterson of Colorado, representing a minority of the committee on resolutions in respect to the coinage plank, moved to insert the word "free" before the word "coinage," which amendment, after a brief debate, was rejected without division, and the platform as amended was then adopted.

The roll of States was then called for the presentation of the names of candidates for president. When the State of Arkansas was called it yielded to New Jersey, and Governor Leon Abbett of that State presented the name of Grover Cleveland.

George F. Patterson of California seconded the nomination. The State of Colorado when called yielded to New York, and Wm. C. DeWitt of that State presented the name of David Bennett Hill. When Iowa was called Mr. John F. Duncombe of that State presented the name of Horace Boies, whose nomination was seconded by Henry Watterson of Kentucky.

Speeches seconding the nomination of Mr. Cleveland were made by A. W. Green of Illinois, W. E. English of Indiana, Mr. Fenton of Kansas, J. A. McKenzie of Kentucky, Patrick A. Collins of Massachusetts, W. H. Wallace of Missouri, —— Hensel of Pennsylvania, G. W. Ochs of Tennessee, John Goode of Virginia and Mr.

Martin of West Virginia. Speeches seconding the nomination of Mr. Hill were made by J. R. Fellows of New York, John W. Daniel of Virginia, J. W. St. Clair, of West Virginia and Bourke Cochran of New York. The nomination of Mr. Boies was seconded by A. Kernan of Louisiana, Mr. Clark of Montana and a delegate from South Dakota. The ballot was then taken, resulting as follows:

STATES.	Cleveland.	Hill.	Boies.	STATES.	Cleveland.	Hill.	Boies.
Alabama	14	2	1	New York	..	72	..
Arkansas	16	..	..	North Carolina	3⅓	1	1
California	18	..	..	North Dakota	6	..	..
Colorado	..	3	5	Ohio	14	6	16
Connecticut	12		..	Oregon	8	..	..
Delaware	6	.	..	Pennsylvania	64	..	..
Florida	5	.	..	Rhode Island	8	..	..
Georgia	17	5	..	South Carolina	2	3	13
Idaho	..	..	6	South Dakota	7	1	..
Illinois	48	..	..	Tennessee	24	..	..
Indiana	30	..	..	Texas	23	1	6
Iowa	..	..	26	Vermont	8	..	..
Kansas	20	..	..	Virginia	12	11	...
Kentucky	18	..	2	Washington	8	..	..
Louisiana	3	1	11	West Virginia	7	1	..
Maine	9	1	..	Wisconsin	24	..	..
Maryland	6	..	..	Wyoming	3	..	..
Massachusetts	24	4	1	Territories.			
Michigan	28	..	..	Alaska	2	..	..
Minnesota	18	..	..	Arizona	5	..	..
Mississippi	8	3	3	Dist. of Columbia	2	..	..
Missouri	34	..	..	Indian Territory	2	..	..
Montana	..	..	6	New Mexico	4	1	1
Nebraska	15	..	..	Oklahoma	2	..	..
Nevada	..	..	4	Utah	2	..	..
New Hampshire	8	..	..				
New Jersey	20	..	..	Total	617⅓	115	103

Number votes cast, 909½. Necessary to choice, 607.

Scattering—Alabama gave 2 for Morrison, 2 for Campbell, 1 for Gorman. Florida gave Carlisle 3. Georgia gave Gorman 4. Kentucky gave Gorman 6. Louisiana gave Gorman 1. Maine gave Gorman 1, Whitney 1. Maryland gave Gorman 9½. Massachusetts gave Russell 1. Mississippi gave Gorman 4. Nebraska gave Gorman 1. Nevada gave Gorman 2. North Carolina gave Stevenson 16⅔. Ohio gave Gorman 5, Carlisle 5. Virginia gave Gorman 1. Washington gave Carlisle 6. West Virginia gave Pattison 1, Gorman 3. Wyoming gave Gorman 3. Arizona gave Gorman 1.

Totals for scattering—Morrison, 3; Campbell, 2; Gorman 36½; Carlisle, 14, Stevenson, 16⅔; Pattison, 1; Russell, 1; Whitney, 1.

Various changes were made and a motion by Senator Daniel of Virginia that the nomination be made unanimous, carried with a few dissenting votes and a recess then taken until 2 P. M.

After the Recess.

The names of Adlai E. Stevenson of Illinois, Isaac P. Gray of Indiana, Allen B. Morse of Michigan and John L. Mitchell of Wisconsin, were then presented as candidates for the nomination of vice-president.